

Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics

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LISTS OF ABBREVIATIONS

I. GENERAL

A.R. = Anno Hijrac (A.D. 622).
 Ak. = Akkadian.
 Alex. = Alexandrian.
 Amer. = American.
 Apoc. = Apocalypse, Apocalyptic.
 Apocr. = Apocrypha.
 Aq. = Aquila.
 Arab. = Arabic.
 Aram. = Aramaic.
 Arm. = Armenian.
 Ary. = Aryan.
 As. = Asiatic.
 Assyr. = Assyrian.
 AT = Altes Testament.
 AV = Authorized Version.
 AVm = Authorized Version margin.
 A.Y. = Anno Yazdagird (A.D. 639).
 Bab. = Babylonian.
 c. = *circa*, about.
 Can. = Canaanite.
 cf. = compare.
 ct. = contrast.
 D = Deuteronomist.
 E = Elohist.
 edd. = editions or editors.
 Egypt. = Egyptian.
 Eng. = English.
 Eth. = Ethiopic.
 EV, EVV = English Version, Versions.
 f. = and following verse or page.
 ff. = and following verses or pages.
 Fr. = French.
 Germ. = German.
 Gr. = Greek.
 H = Law of Holiness.
 Heb. = Hebrew.
 Hel. = Hellenistic.
 Hex. = Hexateuch.
 Himy. = Himyaritic.
 Ir. = Irish.
 Iran. = Iranian.

Isr. = Israelite.
 J = Jahwist.
 J' = Jehovah.
 Jerus. = Jerusalem.
 Jos. = Josephus.
 LXX = Septuagint.
 Min. = Minean.
 MSS = Manuscripts.
 MT = Massoretic Text.
 n. = note.
 NT = New Testament.
 Onk. = Onkelos.
 OT = Old Testament.
 P = Priestly Narrative.
 Pal. = Palestine, Palestinian.
 Pent. = Pentateuch.
 Pers. = Persian.
 Phil. = Philistine.
 Phœn. = Phœnician.
 Pr. Bk. = Prayer Book.
 R = Redactor.
 Rom. = Roman.
 RV = Revised Version.
 RVm = Revised Version margin.
 Sab. = Sabæan.
 Sam. = Samaritan.
 Sem. = Semitic.
 Sept. = Septuagint.
 Sin. = Sinaitic.
 Skr. = Sanskrit.
 Symm. = Symmachus.
 Syr. = Syriac.
 t. (following a number) = times.
 Talm. = Talmud.
 Targ. = Targum.
 Theod. = Theodotion.
 TR = Textus Receptus, Received Text.
 tr. = translated or translation.
 VSS = Versions.
 Vulg., Vg. = Vulgate.
 WH = Westcott and Hort's text.

II. BOOKS OF THE BIBLE

Old Testament.

Gn = Genesis.	Ca = Canticles.
Ex = Exodus.	Is = Isaiah.
Lv = Leviticus.	Jer = Jeremiah.
Nu = Numbers.	La = Lamentations.
Dt = Deuteronomy.	Ezk = Ezekiel.
Jos = Joshua.	Dn = Daniel.
Jg = Judges.	Hos = Hosea.
Ru = Ruth.	Jl = Joel.
1 S, 2 S = 1 and 2 Samnel.	Am = Amos.
1 K, 2 K = 1 and 2 Kings.	Ob = Obadiah.
1 Ch, 2 Ch = 1 and 2 Chronicles.	Jon = Jonah.
Ezr = Ezra.	Mic = Micah.
Neh = Nehemiah.	Nah = Nahum.
Est = Esther.	Hab = Habakkuk.
Job.	Zeph = Zephaniah.
Ps = Psalms.	Hag = Haggai.
Pr = Proverbs.	Zec = Zechariah.
Ec = Ecclesiastes.	Mal = Malachi.

Apocrypha.

1 Es, 2 Es = 1 and 2 Esdras.	To = Tobit.
	Jth = Judith.

Ad. Est = Additions to Esther.	Sus = Susanna.
Wis = Wisdom.	Bel = Bel and the Dragon.
Sir = Sirach or Ecclesiasticus.	Pr. Man = Prayer of Manasses.
Bar = Baruch.	1 Mac, 2 Mac = 1 and 2 Maccabees.
Three = Song of the Three Children.	

New Testament.

Mt = Matthew.	1 Th, 2 Th = 1 and 2 Thessalonians.
Mk = Mark.	1 Ti, 2 Ti = 1 and 2 Timothy.
Lk = Luke.	Tit = Titus.
Jn = John.	Philem = Philemon.
Ac = Acts.	He = Hebrews.
Ro = Romans.	Ja = James.
1 Co, 2 Co = 1 and 2 Corinthians.	1 P, 2 P = 1 and 2 Peter.
Gal = Galatians.	1 Jn, 2 Jn, 3 Jn = 1, 2, and 3 John.
Eph = Ephesians.	Jude.
Ph = Philippians.	Rev = Revelation.
Col = Colossians.	

III. FOR THE LITERATURE

1. The following authors' names, when unaccompanied by the title of a book, stand for the works in the list below.

- Baethgen = *Beiträge zur sem. Religionsgesch.*, 1888.
 Baldwin = *Dict. of Philosophy and Psychology*, 3 vols. 1901-05.
 Barth = *Nominalbildung in den sem. Sprachen*, 2 vols. 1889, 1891 (²1894).
 Benzinger = *Heb. Archäologie*, 1894.
 Brockelmann = *Gesch. d. arab. Litteratur*, 2 vols. 1897-1902.
 Bruns-Sachau = *Syr.-Röm. Rechtsbuch aus dem fünften Jahrhundert*, 1880.
 Budge = *Gods of the Egyptians*, 2 vols. 1903.
 Daremberg-Saglio = *Dict. des ant. grec. et rom.*, 1886-90.
 De la Saussaye = *Lehrbuch der Religionsgesch.*³, 1905.
 Denzinger = *Enchiridion Symbolorum*¹¹, Freiburg im Br., 1911.
 Deussen = *Die Philos. d. Upanishads*, 1899 [Eng. tr., 1906].
 Doughty = *Arabia Deserta*, 2 vols. 1888.
 Grimm = *Deutsche Mythologie*⁴, 3 vols. 1875-78, Eng. tr. *Teutonic Mythology*, 4 vols. 1882-88.
 Hamburger = *Realencyclopädie für Bibel u. Talmud*, i. 1870 (²1892), ii. 1883, suppl. 1886, 1891 f., 1897.
 Holder = *Altceltischer Sprachschatz*, 1891 ff.
 Holtzmann-Zöpfel = *Lexicon f. Theol. u. Kirchenwesen*², 1895.
 Howitt = *Native Tribes of S.E. Australia*, 1904.
 Jubainville = *Cours de Litt. celtique*, i.-xii., 1883 ff.
 Lagrange = *Études sur les religions sémitiques*², 1904.
 Lane = *An Arabic-English Lexicon*, 1863 ff.
 Lang = *Myth, Ritual, and Religion*², 2 vols. 1899.
 Lepsius = *Denkmäler aus Aegypten u. Aethiopien*, 1849-60.
 Lichtenberger = *Encyc. des sciences religieuses*, 1876.
 Lidzbarski = *Handbuch der nordsem. Epigraphik*, 1898.
 McCurdy = *History, Prophecy, and the Monuments*, 2 vols. 1894-96.
 Muir = *Orig. Sanscrit Texts*, 1858-72.
 Müss-Arnolt = *A Concise Dict. of the Assyrian Language*, 1894 ff.
 Nowack = *Lehrbuch d. heb. Archäologie*, 2 vols. 1894.
 Pauly-Wissowa = *Realencyc. der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, 1894 ff.
 Perrot-Chipiez = *Hist. de l'art dans l'antiquité*, 1881 ff.
 Preller = *Römische Mythologie*, 1858.
 Réville = *Religion des peuples non-civilisés*, 1883.
 Riehm = *Handwörterbuch d. bibl. Altertums*², 1893-94.
 Robinson = *Biblical Researches in Palestine*², 1856.
 Roscher = *Lex. d. gr. u. röm. Mythologie*, 1884 ff.
 Schafl-Herzog = *The New Schafl-Herzog Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge*, 1908 ff.
 Schenkel = *Bibel-Lexicon*, 5 vols. 1869-75.
 Schürer = *GJV*³, 3 vols. 1898-1901 [*HJP*, 5 vols. 1890 ff.].
 Schwally = *Leben nach dem Tode*, 1892.
 Siegfried-Stade = *Heb. Wörterbuch zum AT*, 1893.
 Smend = *Lehrbuch der alttest. Religionsgesch.*², 1899.
 Smith (G. A.) = *Historical Geography of the Holy Land*⁴, 1897.
 Smith (W. R.) = *Religion of the Semites*², 1894.
 Spencer (H.) = *Principles of Sociology*³, 1885-96.
 Spencer-Gillen^a = *Native Tribes of Central Australia*, 1899.
 Spencer-Gillen^b = *Northern Tribes of Central Australia*, 1904.
 Swete = *The OT in Greek*, 3 vols. 1893 ff.
 Tylor (E. B.) = *Primitive Culture*³, 1891 [⁴1903].
 Ueberweg = *Hist. of Philosophy*, Eng. tr., 2 vols. 1872-74.
 Weber = *Jüdische Theologie auf Grund des Talmud u. verwandten Schriften*², 1897.
 Wiedemann = *Die Religion der alten Aegypter*, 1890 [Eng. tr., revised, *Religion of the Anc. Egyptians*, 1897].
 Wilkinson = *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians*, 3 vols. 1878.
 Zunz = *Die gottesdienstlichen Vorträge der Juden*², 1892.

2. Periodicals, Dictionaries, Encyclopædias, and other standard works frequently cited.

- AA = Archiv für Anthropologie.
 AAOJ = American Antiquarian and Oriental Journal.
 ABAW = Abhandlungen d. Berliner Akad. d. Wissenschaften.
 AE = Archiv für Ethnographie.
 AEG = Assyr. and Eng. Glossary (Johns Hopkins University).
 AGG = Abhandlungen der Göttinger Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften.
 AGPh = Archiv für Geschichte der Philosophie.
 AHR = American Historical Review.
 AHT = Ancient Hebrew Tradition (Hommel).
 AJPh = American Journal of Philology.
 AJP = American Journal of Psychology.
 AJRPE = American Journal of Religious Psychology and Education.
 AJSL = American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literature.
 AJTh = American Journal of Theology.
 AMG = Annales du Musée Guimet.
 APES = American Palestine Exploration Society.
 APF = Archiv für Papyrussforschung.
 AR = Anthropological Review.
 ARW = Archiv für Religionswissenschaft.
 AS = Acta Sanctorum (Bollandus).
 ASG = Abhandlungen der Sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften.
 ASoc = L'Année Sociologique.
 ASWI = Archaeological Survey of W. India.
 AZ = Allgemeine Zeitung.
 BAG = Beiträge zur alten Geschichte.
 BASS = Beiträge zur Assyriologie u. sem. Sprachwissenschaft (edd. Delitzsch and Haupt).
 BCH = Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique.
 BE = Bureau of Ethnology.
 BG = Bombay Gazetteer.
 BJ = Bellum Judaicum (Josephus).
 BL = Bampton Lectures.
 BLE = Bulletin de Littérature Ecclésiastique.
 BOR = Bab. and Oriental Record.
 BS = Bibliotheca Sacra.
 BSA = Annual of the British School at Athens.
 BSAA = Bulletin de la Soc. archéologique à Alexandrie.
 BSAL = Bulletin de la Soc. d'Anthropologie de Lyon.
 BSAP = Bulletin de la Soc. d'Anthropologie, etc., Paris.
 BSG = Bulletin de la Soc. de Géographie.
 BTS = Buddhist Text Society.
 BW = Biblical World.
 BZ = Biblische Zeitschrift.

- CAIBL*=Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres.
CBTS=Calcutta Buddhist Text Society.
CE=Catholic Encyclopedia.
CF=Childhood of Fiction (MacCulloch).
CGS=Cults of the Greek States (Farnell).
CI=Census of India.
CIA=Corpus Inscript. Atticarum.
CIE=Corpus Inscript. Etruscarum.
CIG=Corpus Inscript. Graecarum.
CIL=Corpus Inscript. Latinarum.
CIS=Corpus Inscript. Semiticarum.
COT=Cuneiform Inscriptions and the OT [Eng. tr. of *KAT*²; see below].
CR=Contemporary Review.
CeR=Celtic Review.
CLR=Classical Review.
CQR=Church Quarterly Review.
CSEL=Corpus Script. Eccles. Latinorum.
DAC=Dict. of the Apostolic Church.
DACL=Dict. d'Archéologie chrétienne et de Liturgie (Cabrol).
DB=Dict. of the Bible.
DCA=Dict. of Christian Antiquities (Smith-Cheetham).
DCB=Dict. of Christian Biography (Smith-Wace).
DCG=Dict. of Christ and the Gospels.
DI=Dict. of Islam (Hughes).
DNB=Dict. of National Biography.
DPhP=Dict. of Philosophy and Psychology.
DWAW=Denkschriften der Wiener Akad. der Wissenschaften.
EBi=Encyclopædia Biblica.
EBr=Encyclopædia Britannica.
EEFM=Egyp. Explor. Fund Memoirs.
EI=Encyclopædia of Islâm.
ERE=The present work.
Exp=Expositor.
ExpT=Expository Times.
FHG=Fragmenta Historicorum Græcorum (coll. C. Müller, Paris, 1835).
FL=Folklore.
FLJ=Folklore Journal.
FLR=Folklore Record.
GA=Gazette Archéologique.
GB=Golden Bough (Frazer).
GGA=Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen.
GGN=Göttingische Gelehrte Nachrichten (Nachrichten der königl. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen).
GIAP=Grundriss d. Indo-Arischen Philologie.
GrP=Grundriss d. Iranischen Philologie.
GJV=Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes.
GVI=Geschichte des Volkes Israel.
HAI=Handbook of American Indians.
HDB=Hastings' Dict. of the Bible.
HE=Historia Ecclesiastica.
HGHL=Historical Geography of the Holy Land (G. A. Smith).
HI=History of Israel.
HJ=Hibbert Journal.
HJP=History of the Jewish People.
HL=Hibbert Lectures.
HN=Historia Naturalis (Pliny).
HWB=Handwörterbuch.
IA=Indian Antiquary.
ICC=International Critical Commentary.
ICO=International Congress of Orientalists.
ICR=Indian Census Report.
IG=Inscript. Græcæ (publ. under auspices of Berlin Academy, 1873 ff.).
IGA=Inscript. Græcæ Antiquissimæ.
IGI=Imperial Gazetteer of India² (1885); new edition (1908-09).
IJE=International Journal of Ethics.
ITL=International Theological Library.
JA=Journal Asiatique.
JAFI=Journal of American Folklore.
JAI=Journal of the Anthropological Institute.
JAOS=Journal of the American Oriental Society.
JASB=Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay.
JASBe=Journ. of As. Soc. of Bengal.
JBL=Journal of Biblical Literature.
JBTS=Journal of the Buddhist Text Society.
JD=Journal des Débats.
JDTh=Jahrbücher f. deutsche Theologie.
JE=Jewish Encyclopedia.
JGOS=Journal of the German Oriental Society.
JHC=Johns Hopkins University Circulars.
JHS=Journal of Hellenic Studies.
JLZ=Jenäer Literaturzeitung.
JPh=Journal of Philology.
JPTTh=Jahrbücher für protestantische Theologie.
JPTS=Journal of the Pali Text Society.
JQR=Jewish Quarterly Review.
JRAI=Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute.
JRAS=Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.
JRASBo=Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Bombay branch.
JRASC=Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Ceylon branch.
JRASK=Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Korean branch.
JRGS=Journal of the Royal Geographical Society.
JRS=Journal of Roman Studies.
JThSt=Journal of Theological Studies.
*KAT*²=Die Keilinschriften und das AT² (Schrader), 1833.
*KAT*³=Zimmern-Winckler's ed. of the preceding (really a totally distinct work), 1903.
KB or *KIB*=Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek (Schrader), 1889 ff.
KGF=Keilinschriften und die Geschichtsforschung, 1878.
LCEI=Literarisches Centralblatt.
LOPh=Literaturblatt für Oriental. Philologie.
LOT=Introduction to Literature of OT (Driver).
LP=Legend of Perseus (Hartland).
LSSt=Leipziger sem. Studien.
M=Mélusine.
MAIBL=Mémoires de l'Acad. des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres.
MBAW=Monatsbericht d. Berliner Akad. d. Wissenschaften.
MGH=Monumenta Germaniæ Historica (Pertz).
MGJV=Mittheilungen der Gesellschaft für jüdische Volkskunde.
MGWJ=Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums.
MI=Origin and Development of the Moral Ideas (Westermarck).
MNDPV=Mittheilungen u. Nachrichten des deutschen Palästina-Vereins.
MR=Methodist Review.
MVG=Mittheilungen der vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft.
MWJ=Magazin für die Wissenschaft des Judentums.
NBAC=Nuovo Bullettino di Archeologia Cristiana.
NC=Nineteenth Century.
NHWB=Neuhebräisches Wörterbuch.
NINQ=North Indian Notes and Queries.
NKZ=Neue kirchliche Zeitschrift.
NQ=Notes and Queries.
NR=Native Races of the Pacific States (Bancroft).
NTZG=Neutestamentliche Zeitgeschichte.
OED=Oxford English Dictionary.
OLZ=Orientalische Literaturzeitung.
OS=Onomastica Sacra.
OTJC=Old Testament in the Jewish Church (W. R. Smith).
OTP=Oriental Translation Fund Publications.
PAOS=Proceedings of American Oriental Society.

<i>PASB</i> = Proceedings of the Anthropological Soc. of Bombay.	<i>SBAW</i> = Sitzungsberichte d. Berliner Akademie d. Wissenschaften.
<i>PB</i> = Polychrome Bible (English).	<i>SBB</i> = Sacred Books of the Buddhists.
<i>PBE</i> = Publications of the Bureau of Ethnology.	<i>SBE</i> = Sacred Books of the East.
<i>PC</i> = Primitive Culture (Tylor).	<i>SBOT</i> = Sacred Books of the OT (Hebrew).
<i>PEFM</i> = Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Memoirs.	<i>SDB</i> = Single-vol. Dict. of the Bible (Hastings).
<i>PEFSt</i> = Palestine Exploration Fund Statement.	<i>SK</i> = Studien und Kritiken.
<i>PG</i> = Patrologia Græca (Migne).	<i>SMA</i> = Sitzungsberichte d. Münchener Akademie.
<i>PJB</i> = Preussische Jahrbücher.	<i>SSGW</i> = Sitzungsberichte d. Kgl. Sächs. Gesellsch. d. Wissenschaften.
<i>PL</i> = Patrologia Latina (Migne).	<i>SWAW</i> = Sitzungsberichte d. Wiener Akademie d. Wissenschaften.
<i>PNQ</i> = Punjab Notes and Queries.	<i>TAPA</i> = Transactions of American Philological Association.
<i>PR</i> = Popular Religion and Folklore of N. India (Crooke).	<i>TASJ</i> = Transactions of the Asiatic Soc. of Japan.
<i>PRE</i> ³ = Prot. Realencyclopädie (Herzog-Hauck).	<i>TC</i> = Tribes and Castes.
<i>PRR</i> = Presbyterian and Reformed Review.	<i>TES</i> = Transactions of Ethnological Society.
<i>PRS</i> = Proceedings of the Royal Society.	<i>ThLZ</i> = Theologische Literaturzeitung.
<i>PRSE</i> = Proceedings Royal Soc. of Edinburgh.	<i>ThT</i> = Theol. Tijdschrift.
<i>PSBA</i> = Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology.	<i>TRHS</i> = Transactions of Royal Historical Society.
<i>PTS</i> = Pali Text Society.	<i>TRSE</i> = Transactions of Royal Soc. of Edinburgh.
<i>RA</i> = Revue Archéologique.	<i>TS</i> = Texts and Studies.
<i>RAnth</i> = Revue d'Anthropologie.	<i>TSBA</i> = Transactions of the Soc. of Biblical Archaeology.
<i>RAS</i> = Royal Asiatic Society.	<i>TU</i> = Texte und Untersuchungen.
<i>RAssyr</i> = Revue d'Assyriologie.	<i>WAI</i> = Western Asiatic Inscriptions.
<i>RB</i> = Revue Biblique.	<i>WZKM</i> = Wiener Zeitschrift f. Kunde des Morgenlandes.
<i>RBEW</i> = Reports of the Bureau of Ethnology (Washington).	<i>ZA</i> = Zeitschrift für Assyriologie.
<i>RC</i> = Revue Critique.	<i>ZA</i> = Zeitschrift für ägypt. Sprache u. Altertumswissenschaft.
<i>RCel</i> = Revue Celtique.	<i>ZATW</i> = Zeitschrift für die alttest. Wissenschaft.
<i>RCh</i> = Revue Chrétienne.	<i>ZCK</i> = Zeitschrift für christliche Kunst.
<i>RDM</i> = Revue des Deux Mondes.	<i>ZCP</i> = Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie.
<i>RE</i> = Realencyclopädie.	<i>ZDA</i> = Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum.
<i>REG</i> = Revue des Études Grecques.	<i>ZDMG</i> = Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft.
<i>REG</i> = Revue Égyptologique.	<i>ZDPV</i> = Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina-Vereins.
<i>REJ</i> = Revue des Études Juives.	<i>ZE</i> = Zeitschrift für Ethnologie.
<i>REth</i> = Revue d'Ethnographie.	<i>ZKF</i> = Zeitschrift für Keilschriftforschung.
<i>RGG</i> = Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart.	<i>ZKG</i> = Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte.
<i>RHLR</i> = Revue d'Histoire et de Littérature religieuses.	<i>ZKT</i> = Zeitschrift für kathol. Theologie.
<i>RHR</i> = Revue de l'Histoire des Religions.	<i>ZKWL</i> = Zeitschrift für kirchl. Wissenschaft und kirchl. Leben.
<i>RM</i> = Revue du monde musulman.	<i>ZM</i> = Zeitschrift für die Mythologie.
<i>RN</i> = Revue Numismatique.	<i>ZNTW</i> = Zeitschrift für die neuest. Wissenschaft.
<i>RP</i> = Records of the Past.	<i>ZPhP</i> = Zeitschrift für Philosophie und Pädagogik.
<i>RPh</i> = Revue Philosophique.	<i>ZTK</i> = Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche.
<i>RQ</i> = Römische Quartalschrift.	<i>ZVK</i> = Zeitschrift für Volkskunde.
<i>RS</i> = Revue sémitique d'Épigraphie et d'Hist. ancienne.	<i>ZVRW</i> = Zeitschrift für vergleichende Rechtswissenschaft.
<i>RSA</i> = Recueil de la Soc. archéologique.	<i>ZWT</i> = Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie.
<i>RSI</i> = Reports of the Smithsonian Institution.	
<i>RTAP</i> = Recueil de Travaux relatifs à l'Archéologie et à la Philologie.	
<i>RTP</i> = Revue des traditions populaires.	
<i>RThPh</i> = Revue de Théologie et de Philosophie.	
<i>RTr</i> = Recueil de Travaux.	
<i>RVV</i> = Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten.	
<i>RWB</i> = Realwörterbnch.	

[A small superior number designates the particular edition of the work referred to, as *KAT*², *LOT*⁶, etc.]

2. The Armenians.—See FESTIVALS AND FASTS (Armenian).

3. The Monophysites.—(a) The customs of the West Syrians or Jacobites are less known to us than those of any other Eastern Church. Their Advent, or *Sübārā* (*Sübörö* = εὐαγγελισμός), lasts for six weeks, as compared with 24 days of the Nestorians (below, 4).—(b) *Copts and Abyssinians*.—The fasts as enjoined in Filothaus' *Catechism of the Coptic Church* (Eng. tr. ed. Bromage, London, 1892, p. 42 f.) are: 'The holy 40 days followed by the week of the Passion' [they thus exclude Holy Week; see above, II. 2], Wednesday and Friday, the fast of Christmas, the fast following the day of Pentecost, the 'days relating specially to our Lady,' and the three-days' Nineveh fast. [For the three-days' fast (*sic*) of the Ninevites in OT, see *Apost. Const.* v. 20; but it is not there mentioned as a Christian fast.] In the fast, meat and butter are forbidden. Fasts are binding on all except 'infants, invalids, women in child-bearing, those worn out by captivity or exile, and the like.' We also learn that ordination among the Copts is followed by a 40-days' fast, and that between a death and burial all the near relatives fast (Fowler, *Christian Egypt*, London, 1901, pp. 208, 212). The Abyssinian fasts are still stricter.

4. The Nestorians (known also as *East Syrians*, *Assyrians*, or *Chaldeans*) are remarkable as fasting more strictly than their own Book of Canon Law, or *Sūnhādhus*, requires. They abstain on Sundays in the fasting season, though the *Sūnhādhus* forbids it because of the Manichæans. In some copies a saving clause says that 'a man may fast on Sunday if it is not from an evil and Manichæan intention.' The fasts observed by all are: (a) Advent, called *Sübārā*, also 'The Little Fast,' Dec. 1-24 incl., though the *Sūnhādhus* makes this a voluntary fast except for monks. (b) Lent, called 'The Fast' or 'The Great Fast,' lasting 50 days, including Sundays. The *Sūnhādhus* mentions 40 days, but the Service-book called *Khādhrā*, or 'Cycle,' allows for 50 days (with the Sundays included). Mid-Lent is often marked by some entertainment, but the fast is not broken. (c) The 'Rogation' (*bā'ūthā*, or 'supplication') of the Ninevites, the three days following the 5th Sunday after Epiphany. (d) Every Wednesday and Friday, not excluding Christmas Day.

Other fasts, not now universal, are the 15 days before 'Mart. Mariam' (St. Mary, Aug. 15), observed by many; the two 'Rogations' of Mar Zaia and of the Virgins, respectively the three days following the 2nd Sunday after Christmas and the 1st Sunday after Epiphany; the *shāwū'ā* (or period of seven weeks) of the Apostles (beginning Whit Monday; this is the Pentecostal fast, ending with the festival of the Twelve Apostles, or *Nausardīl*, 50 days after Pentecost—thus the Nestorians, by 'the Apostles' in this connexion, do not mean St. Peter and St. Paul); the *shāwū'ā* of Elijah (beginning 99 days after Pentecost). These two are

mentioned by the *Sūnhādhus* as voluntary fasts, but are now almost, if not quite, obsolete, and the Rogations of Mar Zaia and of the Virgins are nearly so. In the fast, meat, butter, milk, fish, eggs, etc., are prohibited; and the stricter Nestorians, especially those in the Kurdish mountains, will not eat, drink, or smoke in Lent till mid-day, except on Sundays. In other fasting seasons they may eat when they please, as long as they do not partake of the forbidden foods. In practice, the Wednesday and Friday fasts in most parts of the E. Syrian country only begin in the morning, and end at evensong, so that flesh-meat may be eaten thereafter (for the day begins and ends at sunset, and there is some inconsistency in not fasting after sunset on what we should call the day before); and usually from Easter to Pentecost, butter, milk, and eggs may be taken on these days. The usual food in the fast consists of bread, beans, rice cooked with walnut or other vegetable oil; vine leaves stuffed with rice and raisins and cooked in vinegar; treacle, fruit, raisins, and walnuts. A curious rule about the end of the fast reflects the difference of custom in the 4th cent. (see above, II. 2). The Advent and Lenten fasts end at evensong on Christmas Even or Easter Even, if one has communicated at the Eucharist of the Even; otherwise it does not end till the Eucharist of the festival (the rule is not of universal application). On fast-days the Eucharist is celebrated late—often as late as 1 p.m. or 2 p.m.—that all may remain fasting till then (see above, II. 7). Another rule (perhaps now obsolete) is that, if a person does not communicate at or about Easter, he is not to eat meat for a month; if he has communicated on Maundy Thursday, but not on Easter Even or Easter Day, then for a fortnight. (For the information in this section, see Maclean-Browne, *The Catholicos of the East*, London, 1892, p. 340 ff.) In this Church, as now among the Greeks (see above, III. (B) 1), there is no difficulty about a festival and a fast falling on the same day; as a matter of fact, most of the holy days fall on a Friday, but that day is, nevertheless, a fasting day.

All the Eastern Churches are strict about the fast before Communion. In some cases (e.g. the East Syrian *Sūnhādhus* [Maclean-Browne, p. 343]), the clergy who take any part in the Eucharist or baptism or ordination must be fasting.

Cf. art. FESTIVALS AND FASTS (Christian).

LITERATURE.—Besides works cited above, see DCG, art. 'Calendar (the Christian)'; DCA, art. 'Advent,' 'Fasting,' 'Lent,' 'Ember Days,' 'Rogation Days,' 'Vigils,' etc.; PRE, art. 'Fasten in der Kirche,' etc.; J. Dowden, *The Church Year and Calendar*, Cambridge, 1910; A. J. Maclean, *Ancient Church Orders*, Cambridge, 1910; V. Staley, *The Liturgical Year*, London, 1907, and *Liturgical Studies*, do.; L. Duchesne, *Christian Worship, its Origin and Evolution*, Eng. tr., London, 1903; J. Wordsworth, *Ministry of Grace*, London, 1901; J. Issavardens, *Rites and Ceremonies of the Armenian Church*, Venice, 1888.

A. J. MACLEAN.

FATALISM.—See FATE, NECESSITARIANISM.

FATE.

Introductory (A. DORNER), p. 771.

Babylonian (L. W. KING), p. 778.

Buddhist (A. S. GEDEN), p. 780.

Celtic (E. HULL), p. 782.

Chinese (W. G. WALSHE), p. 783.

Egyptian (H. R. HALL), p. 785.

Greek and Roman (ST. GEORGE STOCK), p. 786.

FATE.—I. DEFINITION.—The idea of Fate is found only in conditions where some attempt has been made to trace all phenomena, and more particularly the phenomena of human life, to an ultimate unity. Fate, indeed, is precisely this unity

Hindu (J. JOLLY), p. 790.

Iranian (L. H. GRAY), p. 792.

Jewish (A. E. SUFFRIN), p. 793.

Muslim (CARRA DE VAUX), p. 794.

Roman.—See 'Greek and Roman.'

Slavic.—See DEMONS AND SPIRITS (Slavic).

Teutonic.—See DOOM, DOOM MYTHS.

apprehended as an inevitable necessity controlling all things; it is the absolutely inscrutable power to which all men are subject, and may be either personified or represented as impersonal. It is a conception which prevails wherever the mind of

man is unable to frame the idea of rational necessity or of a supreme purposive will, and it survives so long as either of these, though within the field of consciousness, is imperfectly realized. Further, men tend to fall back on the idea of Fate when, at a higher level of intellectual development, they begin to doubt of a rational order, or a rational end, in the universe. If any distinction is to be drawn between Fate and Destiny, it is simply that the latter is but the former regarded as operative in particular cases. The idea of Destiny, however, does not necessarily preclude the rationality of the thing destined; it merely implies that this rationality is not perceived. Destiny, in fact, being a somewhat indefinite conception, may even connote an ethical vocation, and may in that case be applied to the end which a higher will sets before a moral personality as an ideal to be realized in moral endeavour.

II. HISTORICAL SURVEY. — I. Non-Christian religions.—In the course of history, Fate has assumed various forms. (1) In *polydæmonistic religions* thought is as yet too incoherent to give definite shape to the idea. Crude anticipations thereof emerge when men begin to reflect upon their lot, as, e.g., in the 'Life-Dream' of the American Indians, amongst whom, however, the prevailing idea is that of dependence upon particular spirits, these not being supposed to form a unity. An important place is certainly assigned to the Death-god, the All-Father, or Great Spirit, but he is not figured as Fate, for the simple reason that the conception of necessity, or even of the necessary order of Nature, has not yet dawned upon the mind.

(2) A closer approximation to the idea of Fate is found in *religions which recognize the uniformity of Nature*, more especially as seen in the courses of the heavenly bodies, and which develop an astrology. This stage was reached by the Quichuas and the Aztecs, who, having various astrological beliefs, began to entertain surmises regarding the operation of Fate in human life, and, interpreting this as the will of the gods, sought to get into right relations therewith, and with its actual decrees, by means of magic, oracles, dreams, and haruspication. Among the Aztecs, in fact, there was a special school of astrology, while full credence was given to the manifold evil omens which pointed to the downfall of their kingdom.

(3) We meet with the idea of Fate also in *religions in which the process of Nature forms the dominant factor*, such as the Egyptian, in which the leading motive is the antithesis of life and death; or the Babylonian, which is permeated by the thought of the uniformity of Nature, more particularly as exemplified in the movement of the stars. Yet we must not forget that these religions likewise show a high ethical development, however incongruous with their naturalistic tendencies this may appear.

(a) In the religion of *Egypt*, magic papyri are regarded as equally effective with good works in obviating the penalties of the final judgment. The Egyptians speak of Nûter, the Power or Deity; they personify law in the goddess Ma'et, who in reality stands for natural order, but has also moral attributes; they find a place for Destiny in the Hathors, Shai, and Rennehet; and, in fact, as the system in its entirety, notwithstanding its ethical aspects, is dominated by the process of Nature, it exemplifies a stage of development in which Fate takes the form of natural necessity, as may be inferred likewise from the magical arts by which souls are to be delivered at the day of judgment. See, further, FATE (Egyptian) and ETHICS AND MORALITY (Egyptian).

(b) The *Babylonians* had a profound sense of the august will of the gods, as that which maintained

not only the order of Nature but also the ordinances of the State, and in their penitential psalms the devout make sorrowful confession of their offences against both. Yet we find among them so much in the way of exorcism, magic, and astrology as to make it appear that in their view the order of Nature was simply an all-controlling Destiny: the stars decide the lot of men. The Chaldean astrology, we should note, was still a power in Rome. See, further, FATE (Babylonian).

(c) Similar conditions meet us in *China*. The worship of spirits is there associated with reverence for natural law, of which, again, civil law is simply a particular phase. In the religion of ancient China, systematic knowledge of the order of Nature—an order believed to emanate from Heaven, from the Sovereign Deity—was obstructed by the belief in spirits, as appears from the respect accorded to soothsaying and astrology. Here morality really consisted in the due observance of class-precedence, i.e. in the recognition of that domestic and civil order which is at the same time the order of Nature. To this impersonal Fate mankind was fettered. The reform inaugurated by Confucius was so far ethical that he laid the supreme emphasis upon practical obedience to the law, and supported his demands by examples culled from the history of the ancient empire. But, while he is convinced that obedience to the moral law is attended with the happiness which is organic to the order of Nature, he does not develop this view to its logical issues. The man who does right should have no anxiety regarding the result.

'If the wise man achieve something, it is well; if he achieve nothing, it is also well: he recognizes Destiny.' 'The perfect man sees danger, and yet hows to Destiny.'

Although Confucius sought to limit the sphere of sorcery and the belief in spirits, he did not identify Destiny with Providence; and, while he yields a certain recognition to Providence, he is, nevertheless, content to ascertain what the order of Nature prescribes; for him Destiny still remains the necessity to which he adjusts himself, though he does not directly assert that it possesses moral attributes. The natural order was recognized still more distinctly by Lao-tse, who actually idealized it as the metaphysical force that he calls *Tao*. *Tao* is the source of that economy which is manifested both in Nature and in the State. It shows no partiality. To it man must yield himself without desire, and in it, renouncing all passion, he must find peace. Lao-tse takes his stand upon the necessity of this self-adjustment. But *Tao*, notwithstanding all its ethical accretions, still remains a merely natural power, like Heaven itself. As a matter of fact, the ever-growing practice of soothsaying—the *feng-shui*, or geomancy—shows how firmly-rooted was the belief in Fate, in a country where men had an inkling, but no concrete knowledge, of the order of Nature, and tried to fathom its mysteries by fantastic expedients of all sorts. In reality China is at that stage of development where order is felt to be morally determinative; but, as this order is essentially a natural order, it is neither more nor less than Fate. See, further, FATE (Chinese) and FENG-SHUI.

(d) The conception of Fate is found also in the *Teutonic* religion. Though the process of Nature is here combined with the ethical process which terminates in the *Götterdämmerung*, the 'twilight of the gods,' yet guilt and impermanence—to which the gods themselves are subject—operate as a tragic doom hanging over the world. The destructive elements, viz. the Fenris Wolf, the goddess Hela, and the Midgard Serpent, at length gain the upper hand, while Odin himself falls swooning from the world-ash. The cosmic process, in short, comes to its consummation as something destined. From

the beginning the worms are gnawing at the tree Yggdrasil. In the waters of Urd dwell the three Norns, daughters of Hela, goddesses of time—past, present, and future—who spin the threads of fortune; goddesses of Destiny, who are older than Odin. Thus the idea of Fate, especially in its tragic form, plays a part in this religion also. The moral element is certainly not absent, but the moral process is mainly one of dissolution. It is a moot point whether the anticipation of a new world under Vali and Vidar belongs to the original Teutonic tradition. In any case this religion looks upon the transitoriness of Nature and human life as the decree of Fate. See DOOM, DOOM MYTHS (Teutonic).

(e) The Indo-Germanic peoples of India combined Fate and ethics in a somewhat different way. Brāhmanism and Buddhism are both dominated by the doctrine of re-birth—the evil cycle from which no one can extricate himself. The *Rta* of the Vedas may be regarded as an analogue of the Greek *Moira*, since the ordered process it denotes is by no means thought of as purely ethical. In Brāhmanism, it is true, the *Atman* (q.v.) or *Brahma* seems to be something more than Fate. But, on the other hand, later Brāhmanism possesses an emanational doctrine, representing in the *Trimūrti* the cycle of generation and dissolution in Nature; while, again, it shows a wide diffusion of the belief in blind destiny. Even the caste system is simply the malign reflex of the theory of natural necessity, as a force which holds all men in its sway, and from which none can deliver himself, the fate of the individual having been fixed by his birth. The system of caste is fostered also by the doctrine of re-birth. It is true that this doctrine contains the element of retribution, but the exhaustless cycle and the interminable suffering of life which it involves are, after all, a necessity of Nature, a decree of Fate. To wrench oneself free from the chain of re-birth is possible only for those who become absorbed in mystic contemplation and live as ascetics, i.e. those who belong to the two higher castes. In other words, the conception of Fate forms the substructure of Brāhmanism in its exoteric form. See, further, FATE (Hindu).

The same holds good of Buddhism, the basis of which is the doctrine of universal suffering in an infinite cycle of re-births. In this religion, too, the necessary continuity of Nature is represented as moral retribution; nevertheless, it is predominantly regarded as an inherent Fate, in which man finds himself enmeshed against his will. Deliverance is, indeed, possible for those who renounce all life, all desire, all finitude, in order that they may enter Nirvāṇa; and the way is open to all. But Buddhism in its original form is so closely identified with a fatalistic view of the continuity of Nature that the deliverance which it proffers involves the destruction of personality, the conception of Spirit as something which transcends Nature not having as yet been attained. The latter feature is reflected also in the various magical expedients by which popular Buddhism seeks to dominate Nature, as also by the mechanical formality of the popular worship. Exoteric Buddhism, in short, is destitute of any positive spiritual content. See, further, for a somewhat different view, FATE (Buddhist).

(f) Fate plays a considerably less important part in the dualistic religion of Persia, but it has not been altogether eliminated. Though in this religion Spirit has won a positive significance, and Ahura Mazda ranks as the Supreme Power, yet the latter is opposed by Angra Mainyu, and the created world is an amalgam of good and evil, benefit and bane. It is believed, indeed, that the conflict between the two powers will eventually

eliminate the evil, and that man's part in the campaign is to espouse the cause of Ahura Mazda by obeying the laws of Zarathushtra; meanwhile, however, man is entangled in an evil world, beset upon every side by demons, from whose wiles he must guard himself; and even the Supreme Deity himself, though sure of ultimate victory, is not as yet wholly free, but physically and spiritually circumscribed by the evil spirit. Now, as this evil spirit acts without reflexion, and under the influence of a blind impulse of nature, and as he is supported by a whole host of demons, who shed abroad darkness and sorrow, tempt to robbery and tyranny, stir up hatred and revenge, and disseminate evils of all kinds, including even the unsavouriness of food—men are clearly subject to an alien necessity, from which they may, indeed, with the help of the law gradually free themselves by a struggle, but by which their earthly existence is heavily trammelled. We shall hardly err, therefore, in saying that in Parsiism the conception of Fate has not been fully transcended, though it has certainly fallen into the background. The dependence of the Supreme Deity upon Angra Mainyu, as represented in the later Avesta—even though that dependence be but temporary—bears an ominous resemblance to the idea that the gods themselves are subject to Fate. That Angra Mainyu appears as personal cannot hide from us the fact that he and his demonic hosts alike are under the control of a blind will, thus resembling a natural force which acts in opposition to the highest god and compels him to struggle. The naturalistic limitations of Parsiism are also shown in its fire-worship, and the partial worship accorded to natural deities. Furthermore, *Asha*, the Persian analogue of the Indian *Rta*, does not symbolize a purely ethical order. The potent influence of the conception of Fate—an all-controlling factor in human life—in this system of dualism may probably be traced in the later theological idea of *Zrvan Akarana*, or Infinite Time, which forms the apex of the system, and furnishes the starting-point of the dualistic process. Again, in the *Fravashi* (q.v.), the guardian angel of the good man, we recognize the belief that human beings are surrounded by friendly and beneficent spirits, as well as by assailants of evil intent; while the belief that the latter can be effectively counteracted by oft-repeated prayers opens the door to exorcism and magic—to that mechanical debasement of religion, in fact, which corresponds to a naturalism not yet transcended.

Finally, the various systems of Gnosticism influenced by this religion, as also Manichæism, are largely pervaded by the conception of Fate: thus, they regard mankind as divided by nature into pneumatic, psychic, and hylic groups, the lot of the individual being determined by the extent to which the evil principle intermingles with his being. See, further, FATE (Iranian).

(g) Nor had the religions of Greece and Rome quite outgrown the belief in Fate. As regards Greece, it is true that Homer places Zeus on the throne of Olympus; but, as the gods are still to some extent liable to envy and caprice, they are shadowed by *Moira*, or Necessity; and, although Destiny is spoken of as the 'decree of Zeus' (*Διὸς αἰῶα*), yet it is *Moira* who, acting independently of Zeus, assigns the term of human life. In the tragic poets the idea of Fate was superseded by that of a just and beneficent world-order controlled by Zeus: *Moira* gives place to *Δικη*. They warn men against *ὑβρις*, the temper which transgresses the limits of human power. The jealousy of the gods was repudiated by Pindar in favour of the idea of retribution. In the hands of the tragedians, Fate acquires an ethical significance: the *Moira*

combines with the *Erinyes*, who punish *ἔσπς*. While in Sophocles the distinction between Fate and guilt is frequently obscured, and guilt may sometimes fasten upon the innocent, yet he also expresses the conviction that presumption will be visited with stern retribution, and that hardship and sorrow may lead to glory. In Greek philosophy likewise, the trend of which was towards monotheism, the Deity is extolled as the supreme Idea of the Good, as the supreme Reason, as Providence, though we still hear of *Ἀνάγκη* (Necessity) and *Εἰμαρμένη* (Fate). In point of fact, natural necessity and Providence are not as yet sharply distinguished, and, accordingly, the moral personality has not attained to complete emancipation from Nature. Nature, indeed, save where it was interpreted by reason from the æsthetic standpoint, was always a mystery; and, though the Stoics regarded the gods themselves as organs of Providence (not altogether free from natural necessity), we need hardly wonder that even amongst them the occult arts had a place. Nor were the Neo-Platonists, notwithstanding their *ὑπερῶντος ὅν* (super-existent Being), quite free from a natural dualism in their view of matter; and, consequently, they too fell back upon magic and theurgy. In a word, Greek thought did not succeed in fully harmonizing moral reason and natural necessity; it either identified the two, or admitted a residuum of dualism, and, while the conception of cosmic unity became more and more clearly formulated, all the more persistently did some remnant of fatalism maintain its ground, asserting itself alike in ritual and in moral life. See, further, EUMENIDES.

The belief in Fate survived also in *Rome*, where it assumed a largely practical form, being associated with the *Fata*, or destinies of individuals, and with the practice of augury connected therewith and developed mainly from Etruscan sources. The *Fata* were primarily concerned with birth and death. The later period of Roman history was remarkable for its syncretistic tendencies, the city becoming a rendezvous for sorcery of all kinds, Chaldean astrology, Greek oracles, etc. *Fortuna* (*τύχη*) was worshipped as the goddess of Destiny, as were also the *Parææ*. The *fatum*, or lot, of the individual or the State was doubtless traced back to the gods; but along with this flourished a belief in Fate as an independent power, manifesting itself in various *prognostica*, the interpretation of which was a craft by itself. Thus there was ever the *Dira Necessitas* hovering above the life of man. See, further, FATE (Greek and Roman).

(4) One might naturally suppose that the idea of Fate would be absent from religions which adhere to a *supranatural theism*, such, e.g., as the leading faiths of the Semitic world. This, however, is by no means the case. We must not forget that in those religions the Divine will, being regarded as absolute sovereignty, really takes the form of inevitable necessity. In the last resort chance and necessity signify the same thing, viz. a necessary force determining human life and not as yet fully illuminated by reason.

(a) So far, therefore, as *Judaism* holds by the absolute prerogative of God, it fails to exclude fatalism. Certainly the God of Judaism is supranatural; Nature lies within His power; He assigns reward and punishment according to His righteousness, not according to a necessary law of Nature; He guides His people to a goal fixed by Himself, and disciplines them by dealings adjusted to their conduct towards Him. But, as this righteous régime does not always vindicate itself in the actual lot of the people or the individual, there emerges a kind of scepticism which, as in the book of Ecclesiastes, takes the form of a threnody upon

the vanity of earthly things. While the book certainly declares that God will bring every work into judgment (Ec 12¹⁴), it also says that the sons of men are snared in an evil time when it falleth suddenly upon them (9¹²), and that there is no work, or device, or knowledge, or wisdom in the grave (9¹⁰). The destiny of man, ending as it does in Sheol, is vanity. Here we discern traces of fatalism, of resignation to an inevitable necessity. Moreover, bearing in mind the Israelite idea of God's peculiar relation to His chosen people, and the relentless spirit of the imprecatory Psalms, we see that the Israelite view of election implies a certain caprice and arbitrariness in the Divine nature. The God of Judaism manifests love and righteousness to His own people, while He leaves the heathen to themselves. Such an arbitrary choice lies upon the Gentiles like an evil doom, which they can do nothing to avert. The idea, promulgated by some of the prophets, that the Gentiles should come to pay homage to Jahweh at Jerusalem, is little more than a religious parallel to that of the political supremacy of Rome and Juppiter Capitolinus. See, further, FATE (Jewish).

(b) In *Muhammadanism* the supremacy of omnipotent Will is still more strongly asserted; for, though God is represented as compassionate and just, yet, in face of every attempt to maintain a place for free will, the most rigorously fatalistic doctrine of the Divine omnipotence at length won the day through the advocacy of the Mutaqallim. God being the Creator of all, and indeed, as the Mutaqallim hold, creating the world anew every moment, all freedom is excluded from the world, and man's only course is submission to the will of Allah—*Kismet*. Kismet differs from Fate only in its being referred to an all-powerful Will; all human appeal against either is in vain. Man may follow the law of Allah, but must, none the less, submit to his own destiny; an absolute determinism blights all spontaneity of action, leaving room at best for fanaticism—a phenomenon observed also in the ecstatic dancing of the dervishes, whose frenzies are attributed to Divine possession. Moreover, in view of the fact that the new authoritative doctrine of the non-created character of the Qur'an, the depository of God's will, proscribes all criticism and clogs all freedom, it is easy to see how in Islâm mankind becomes subject to an absolute necessity—even though such necessity is figured as omnipotent Will—and how, in short, the belief in Destiny may still cohere with ethical ideas. The arbitrary will of omnipotence and the blind necessity of Nature thus come eventually to the same thing—the non-moral subjection of mankind to an inevitable necessity. See, further, FATE (Muslim).

2. *Fate and Christianity*.—Belief in Fate is transcended only when men come to regard themselves as free, as called by the Deity to a responsible moral life, and when the Deity is regarded as ordaining all things in His wisdom and providence, to the end that man may enjoy the liberty of the children of God in a Kingdom of God, so realizing not merely his essential independence of Nature, but his actual lordship over it. Fate, in fact, is transcended whenever dependence upon God becomes the spring of free action, all things being then regarded as necessarily subservient to man's highest interests, and man himself as capable of so utilizing them. Such is, ideally at least, the view held by Christianity, and, accordingly, Christianity repudiates on principle all belief in Fate. The Christian religion regards the Supreme Power of the world as a rational Will by which all things are made to promote the ends of the Kingdom. Here omnipotence is not arbitrary, but is one with the all-wise Will; nor is necessity blind, but

rational, and likewise identical with the all-wise Will—the Will which always acts as a moral stimulus to the freedom of man. Only when freedom and necessity are recognized as being one in the Deity is it possible for Destiny to give place to Providence; only when man realizes his freedom as that which lays upon him the obligation of self-determination in the sphere of conduct does he cease to resort to the occult arts; and only as he knows that all things can be utilized for the highest ends does he finally break with the idea of Fate. These beliefs, however, constitute in essence the Christian point of view.

Nevertheless, it cannot be said that Christianity is even yet entirely free from the belief in Fate. For one thing, vestiges of the idea have worked their way into Christian doctrine; and, again, traces of it are actually found in Christian practice; while, finally, the Christian world shows a recrudescence of certain theories of the universe which, avowedly opposed to the Christian view, have rehabilitated the belief in Fate in one or other of its forms.

As exemplifying the first of these tendencies we shall speak of Origen and Augustine, the two greatest thinkers of the Patristic period; from the Mediaeval period we shall cite Aquinas and Duns Scotus; and from Protestantism, Calvin and Schleiermacher.

i. *Fate in Christian doctrine.*—(1) *Patristic.*—(a) In so far as Origen regards the world as originating in a condition where all spiritual beings were of the same sort, and believes that, when the fall of spirits has reached its term, the world will be restored to its primal state, his doctrine is still capable of a Christian interpretation, since, in fact, mankind is being raised, under Divine tuition, from its present sinful condition towards perfection. But, as Origen also conceives of this world-process as eternally recurrent, he does not get beyond the idea of an endless cycle, and thus still retains something of the ancient conception of Fate. Again, while he holds that man may become one with the Divine Logos in virtue of his freedom and his rational nature, thus making Christianity the rational and ethical religion, yet his view of the Father, as supremely exalted above the Logos, and of man's incapacity for perfect oneness with the Father, practically makes God a super-ethical and metaphysical Being. Nor is Origen always consistent in his theory of the relation between the Logos and the Father, the Logos being sometimes spoken of as a natural and necessary efflux from God, and sometimes as a product of the Divine will; and, similarly, God is now the rational Will which reveals itself in the Logos as Love, and now a simple metaphysical Monad, which creates the Logos by natural necessity. This inconsistency repeats itself in Origen's view of the world: now he accepts ἀποκατάστασις, man's final unity with God, while, again, this unity is ceaselessly ruptured by finite free will—the irrational factor in the world. Finally, in Origen's theory it is mere metaphysical caprice which excludes the creature from perfect unity with God and casts him again into the endless cycle of fall and restoration—a process which holds him in its grasp like inevitable Fate itself. The relapse into sacramental magic with which the early Greek Church is sometimes charged is, so far as the charge is valid, attributable to the fact that that Church had not yet fully attained to an ethical conception of God.

(b) A similar inconsistency appears in *Augustine*. He interprets God, on the one hand, as a Trinity of conscious loving Will, manifesting itself in the *gratia* of the Holy Spirit, but again, on the other, as a self-identical, metaphysically simple Being;

in the last resort, indeed, God is an arbitrary Will, who, precisely as in the Jewish doctrine, elects some out of His mere grace and rejects others. Moreover, God works irresistibly in the elect as an impersonal *gratia*; and, just as these can do nothing to procure their election, so the reprobate likewise are under an absolute decree, shadowed as if by a necessity of Fate, and even children who die unbaptized are consigned to perdition. Such views present us with unmistakable vestiges of the belief in Fate. Further, in Augustine's differentiation of the world from God in virtue of its containing an element of negation which did not originate in Him, we recognize a remnant of the belief in a power antagonistic to God; God is the *sumмум Esse*, the world the *minus esse*.

(2) *Mediaeval.*—(a) According to *Aquinas*, God is *purus actus* (pure action) and rational substance, and the world is the stage upon which this rationality is revealed. The world stands in a substantial relation to God, and the Divine reason displays itself in the order, the necessary uniformity, of the world, which forms a whole just because it contains every grade of being, evil itself not excepted. Aquinas, indeed, even maintains that God gives the world a share in His own goodness, His rational existence, though not all in the same degree. Such a view seems to leave no room whatever for Fate, but, in point of fact, Aquinas traverses it by another conception. He holds that the world is differentiated from God by its element of negation, which involves a decrement of substance. Hence, of course, a real union between the human reason and God is possible only by a suspension of this negation. In order, therefore, that man may become one with God, Aquinas introduces a supernatural communication, by which the finite, the natural, the negative, the spontaneous are all annulled in order to make way for the Divine action, as is seen more particularly in the special powers attributed to the sacraments—the channels of Divine grace. Here we recognize an element of dualistic fatalism. As was to be expected, Aquinas makes no mention of Fate, but in this inherent imperfection of things—an imperfection capable of being removed, though only in part, by a supernatural intervention annulling the natural—we may discern traces of a negative anti-Divine power, which, as it is not rational, has something in common with blind necessity, or Fate.

(b) On the other hand, *Duns Scotus* premises that God is sovereign and free,—subject to no necessity whatever,—and that the concrete world does not rest upon negation. The perfections of the concrete, in fact, are comprised in God's essence, in the Divine mind and the Divine thoughts, and in these the world can participate. According to Duns, God is a self-knowing, self-affirming, independent, and blessed Will, creating the world voluntarily, and admitting it to a share in His perfections by His voluntary decree. It is the Divine Will alone which determines what kind of perfections the world is to receive, and whether it is to receive them at all; or, in other words, the very existence of the world, the 'that' of the world, depends upon the volition of God. As this Will, however, acts by free choice, the existence of the world is contingent; and this is the real cause of its imperfection. Now, though Duns proceeds to say that God loves the world, and mankind in particular, he traces this love to God's self-love, mankind being, as has been indicated, a sharer in God's own perfection. But in Himself God is all-sufficient, and the very existence of the world remains for Him quite as contingent as the particular character of its structure and order. In His intrinsic essence, therefore, God remains alien to the world, as that which is in its nature contingent.

It also follows from this that man can apprehend the will of God only by revelation through the Church, and must, accordingly, obey the Church's behests. In this contingency of the world we trace once more some residual idea of Fate, for the Divine decree, while emanating from the free sovereignty of God, is, so far as the world is concerned, simply a destiny which it must fulfil. That which for Aquinas is supernatural necessity and negation is for Duns Scotus the arbitrary determination of God, and, consequently, the idea of Fate is not fully surmounted by either.

(3) *Protestant*.—(a) The same thing may be said in regard to Calvin; nor, indeed, does either Luther or Zwingli differ from him in the matter under discussion. It was Calvin, however, who most consistently developed the fundamental idea, and we may therefore take him as representative, more especially as his view is shared by some theologians at the present day, of whom we may instance Kuyper. It is true that, if we fix our attention upon Calvin's teachings regarding the elect—namely, that God has chosen them in order that they may do His will, that He assures them by His Holy Spirit of their election, that the general grace of God is at work throughout the world, and that, accordingly, secular callings have their rightful place in the Kingdom of God, while the State, as also science and art, may likewise subserve His glory—it may well seem that everything in the nature of Chance or Fate is excluded. But if, on the other hand, we bear in mind that, according to Calvin, everything is subject to the omnipotent Will, and that a certain number of the human race are rejected from the outset, simply because God willed that they should be sinful and should persist in their sin, it is plain that the ethical purpose of God is subordinate to His arbitrary decree. God's *horribile decretum* is thus, so far as the reprobate are concerned, neither more nor less than a Fate from which there is no escape. As, in fact, the Divine decree, once fixed, is carried out with absolute necessity, and as no man can do aught to procure his own salvation unless he is empowered thereto by God, it is clear that Calvin has so far failed to free himself from fatalism.

(b) *Schleiermacher* attempts to make good this defect in the doctrine of election by limiting the Divine decree exclusively to the particular time at which an individual shall come to participate in the Christian salvation. He seeks to show that the Divine plan of the world is a unity, and that the communion with God which accords with the nature of man is so realized in Christianity as to become the spring of moral conduct. From this it would appear that his belief in Providence embraces the whole world, and that the entire world-order is illumined by the Divine reason. On the other hand, Schleiermacher's idea of God as the absolute undifferentiated unity of all opposites, and of the world as the sphere in which these opposites fall apart, implies that the world is not only different from God, but permanently imperfect as well. As Schleiermacher has given no definite expression to his view of the world's final purpose, we may fail to observe this lacuna in his thought, but, in point of fact, his philosophy is still burdened with the ancient theory that the world is the realm of negation. The more perfect the world becomes, the more completely must its opposites disappear, and the more nearly must it approximate to the undifferentiated unity of God, *i.e.* cease to be a world at all. Further, the order of Nature, as a product of Divine omnipotence, stands at the centre of Schleiermacher's system, and it is very doubtful whether, on his view, the moral order takes precedence over the natural order and assimilates it, or, on the other hand, the ethical life is not

as subject to natural law as Nature itself. In short, neither the metaphysical conception of God as an absolutely simple Being, and of a natural uniformity to which all things are subject, nor the idea that the world's imperfections rest upon its opposites, is calculated to dispel the suspicion of a fatalistic ingredient. Since good and evil, alike in a physical and in a moral sense, have both a necessary place in the world-order, and since the world, on account of its difference from God, is doomed to permanent imperfection by God Himself, its absolute sovereign, the lingering trace of the conception of Fate in Schleiermacher's theory is quite unmistakable.

ii. *Fate in common life*.—It is also obvious that vestiges of fatalism are present in the everyday life of mankind, as, *e.g.*, (1) in the manifold *superstitions* handed down from earlier stages of religion—observance of days, exorcism, astrology, oracles, drawing lots, etc.—as also in the use of amulets, scapulars, images, and miraculous preventives, to all of which magic virtues are ascribed. The same tendency appears in the idea of 'luck' as the condition of success, the underlying thought being that one man is a favourite, and another a victim, of fortune, whether in play or in more serious matters. Such notions are frequently associated with a pleasure-seeking and immoral spirit, as in those who look for success not to their own efforts but to extraneous influences, and are disposed to take what comes with resignation. Similarly, many decline the moral task of deciding questions for themselves, and have recourse to something of the nature of an oracle, which will give a decision by mere chance and without any rational connexion with the matter in hand; or, again, they help themselves out of a practical dilemma by referring to some contingent natural phenomenon which is believed to exert a magical influence, but which has no ethical import at all. The power thus supposed to help or hinder is represented as working, not by rational or moral means, but through the blind mechanism of Nature; while, again, the belief in Providence as applied to ordinary life and practice frequently exhibits traits that really belong to fatalism.

(2) As another instance of the still surviving influence of the belief in Fate we may refer to *poetry*, and in particular to the *drama*, though it is by no means only the dramas of Fate strictly so called which exhibit the feature in question. The dramatist who would portray the tangled skein of life is at no loss for situations in which a blind destiny, a *dura necessitas*, seems to rule. He sees a human being held in bondage by ignorance, and that through no fault of his own; or immured from childhood in a narrow or uncongenial sphere, so that the wing of spiritual aspiration is lamed from the outset. In the drama, again, decisions of the gravest import are often brought about by events that seem purely accidental, so that the individual comes to feel that he is but the plaything of an inexorable power. His very ignorance of the larger concatenation of things prompts the thought that he is in the grasp of a blind destiny. But, even when he is aware of this larger concatenation, he may still feel compelled to bow before an all-ruling necessity, as something actually experienced, and it is this iron sway which the dramatic poet often makes it his task to bring to light. Such an imminent and inexorable necessity, whose causal relations we may so far recognize, though their deeper significance remains inscrutable, must likewise fall under the conception of Fate.

(3) A recrudescence of the conception shows itself also in *certain recent philosophical ideas*. Thus, those who find the sole regulative principle of things in the mechanism of Nature do not seem

very far away from the ancient belief. Herbert Spencer, for instance, if we may judge from the elucidation of his system, sees the necessary causal energy of the Unknowable everywhere in operation, and, while he recognizes a progressive movement in the world as it now is, yet he looks for an eventual disintegration, thus reading, as it were, the inherent destiny of the universe in the merely mechanical cycle of becoming and dissolution. Mention may also be made of the Darwinian theory, in so far as it traces biological phenomena—progress as well as degeneration—to merely mechanical causes, though the actual progress ought to be something more than blind necessity. We may also instance J. S. Mill, who discards the idea of a God at once almighty and morally good, and regards it as most probable that there exists a Superior Being whose purposes of good are constantly thwarted by a hostile necessity—a theory analogous to that of Parsiism, though Mill's representation of the antagonistic power remains quite indefinite. Parallels to these views likewise appear in Germany, e.g. in the 'Evangelium der armen Seele.' Again, as a result of the present bias of philosophy towards psychology, with its consequent repudiation of the Ego and the Ego's independent action, and its tendency to explain everything by a psychical mechanism, this mechanism itself has become a kind of Fate, a necessity brooding over all. Finally, if we take as our starting-point the manifold misery of the world, and survey, from the eudæmonistic standpoint, the various forms of evil—the transitoriness of all things and the sufferings associated therewith—we can hardly wonder at the rise of a philosophy which emphasizes the irrationality of existence, traces it to the impulse of a blind Will, and regards the extinction of this Will as the final task of the race. True as it may be that there is, as von Hartmann admits, a relative rationality and purpose in the world, yet, according to the general theory, the world owes its existence to the persistent action of an unconscious volition, i.e. Chance, or to blind necessary impulse, the limits of whose action have not been clearly defined by von Hartmann, as there is nothing to show that the extinguished Will may not re-assert itself. In any case it is obvious that this Unconscious Will, as the source of all things, is simply a Fate, a Destiny which cannot be evaded till the Will is brought to extinction. Such is the latest prevalent theory of the universe.

III. ANALYSIS, INVESTIGATION, AND CONCLUSION.—From the above outline we see the wide diffusion of the belief in Fate among mankind, and the manifold forms it assumes; we see likewise that vestiges of the belief persist even where a radically different view of the universe prevails, and, further, that the idea is again in various shapes gaining a footing as a kind of reaction to the Christian view. Our survey, however, also indicates that fatalism takes root wherever men regard themselves as subject to an irresistible power thought of as incapable of rational or purposive action. Whether the all-controlling force is figured as immanent or as transcendent, whether it is regarded as a mechanical, physical, unconscious necessity, or is credited with a volition which, though conscious, is absolute and arbitrary in its working—in every case it is to be recognized as inevitable Fate. Fatalism cannot be overcome by the assumption of an omnipotent arbitrary Will represented as supramundane, any more than by a physical pantheism or pan-cosmism; nor is an antidote to it found in the ability to grasp the law of Causality or the order of Nature, so long, at all events, as these are reduced to a mere mechanical necessity encompassing us. Many an absurd superstition may doubtless be dissipated by a knowledge

of the uniformity of Nature; but, if in the last resort this uniformity be construed as an aimless necessity enfolding all things, the cramping belief in Fate is not eliminated.

As a matter of fact, the belief can be finally extirpated only by the recognition of a rational Good Will determining the natural order with reference to an end, and harmonizing therewith the law of necessary physical causality. It is, of course, impossible to trace the purposive relations of every phenomenon in the world, and it might therefore appear as if, after all, there were a place for Fate in one or other of its forms. But our inability to trace such a universal purpose in detail does not justify us in denying its existence—so long as we have adequate grounds for admitting the presence of an order in the world as a whole. Moreover, the assumption of such a world-order can be made good only in so far as we abandon the empirical view of things, and recognize that the world is designed to move from one stage of progress to another, and that, in particular, the moral world is intended to consummate the process by means of individual effort upon a basis of Divine action. Considered in this light, every known imperfection in the world will but provide a motive for its own removal, while the knowledge of the contrast between the ideal and the actual, and the consequent perception of defect, furnish an opportunity for ameliorative action. The belief in Fate will, in fact, disappear only as men become convinced that the world has been rationally designed by a rational Will, and that it is their task, as morally endowed beings—as organs of the Divine Will conforming to the plan of Providence—to realize that design.

This brings us, however, face to face with the subjective conditions in which the belief in Fate subsists, and in which, again, its elimination is possible. So long as man feels himself simply impotent in relation to Nature, and thinks of himself as a mere atom in the universal order, he remains subject to Fate, to necessity. So long as he regards his position and his lot as something given, to which he must adapt himself, he cannot rise above the notion of Fate; nor is any deliverance possible, in spite of all attempts to improve his position, so long as he is disposed to eudæmonism, and, consequently, dependent upon circumstances or upon Nature. Eudæmonism, making pleasure the end of life, strikes at the springs of moral energy; it makes man the thrall of the things which promise enjoyment, and which Fate is supposed to bestow or deny. The man who, on the other hand, regards it as his task to realize a Divinely-ordained moral ideal will judge of all things in reference to their possible utility for that purpose. For such an one there exists no blind destiny, no arbitrary will, to paralyze his energy; for him all things are ordered by God with a view to their subserving his Divinely ordained ethical task; and, just because it is God who so orders the world, all thought of an aimless destiny or an arbitrary will is done away. For him no actual state of affairs is unalterably ordained, but every fresh situation is a call to a higher realization of the world's ethical purpose, for which, indeed, the mechanical uniformity of Nature provides the most effective means. For him, too, history acquires a new meaning, its larger canvas showing the progress of man to consist in the fulfilment of his peculiar function, and manifesting the sway, not of a blind destiny, but of Providence. Nor can the existence of evil falsify such a conviction, as the very fact that certain things are reckoned evil evinces the potency of the religious and moral reason which recognizes the ideal, this recognition being, in fact, the first step towards its practical realization. Evil is, there-

fore, no millstone, no incubus of Fate, weighing down the mind; on the contrary, in the very act of its being overcome it provides a motive for renewed effort and further progress. Of all religions it is Christianity alone which, when rightly interpreted, rings the knell of the belief in Fate.

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FATE (Babylonian).—By the Babylonians and Assyrians the abstract conception of Fate or Destiny was never personified as a separate deity, whose nature and attributes might be cited as evidence in this connexion. But they possessed a special word for 'Fate' (*šimtu*), and it is desirable to establish as accurately as possible the senses in which the word was used. Apart from such direct evidence it is clear that in Bab. thought a conception of Fate or Destiny may have existed which was not peculiarly associated with the word *šimtu*, or at any rate may not have left its traces on the context of extant passages in which the word happens to occur. Our inquiry thus falls into two main sections. In the first we shall examine the use and precise meaning of the word *šimtu*, 'fate'; in the second it will be necessary to inquire whether at any period we may legitimately recognize traces of a fatalistic conception in Bab. popular beliefs or philosophical speculation. The latter inquiry will be the longer of the two, as it touches some points around which a considerable amount of controversy has gathered during recent years.

1. The word *šimtu*, pl. *šimāti*, derived from the verb *šamu*, 'to establish,' 'to determine,' is the feminine of the participle *šimu*.¹ It properly has a passive meaning, 'established,' 'determined,' but in a few passages referring to the *šimtu* of some of the greater gods it is clearly used with an active meaning, in the sense of 'the act of determining the fate or lot.'² From the fact that in its passive sense the word is sometimes used as a synonym for 'death,' it might seem at first sight that death, and, consequently, the length of life were events which were decreed from the beginning. That case should be taken before drawing such a con-

¹ For references to the principal passages in which the word occurs, see F. Delitzsch, *Assyr. HWB*, Leipzig, 1896, p. 653 ff.; and Muss-Arnolt, *Concise Dict. of the Assyr. Language*, Berlin, 1905, pp. 1052 f., 1065 f.

² Such an expression, for instance, as *šimatka la šanān sekarka Anum*, 'Thy *šimtu* is without rival, thy word is (that of) Anu!' (Creation-series, Tabl. IV. line 4; cf. L. W. King, *Seven Tablets of Creation*, London, 1901, i. 58 f.), where *šimtu* is paralleled by *sekru* ('word,' 'command'), proves that the former could be used with an active meaning.

clusion is suggested by a very interesting passage in the Cylinder-Inscription of Sennacherib, in which the premature death of Kudur-Nankhundi, king of Elam, is said to have taken place by the command of Ashur on a day which was not his *šimtu*, or pre-ordained fate.¹ From this passage it is clear that *šimtu* was not an irrevocable destiny, since, at any rate in Kudur-Nankhundi's case, it could be overridden by the special decree of Ashur, the national god of Assyria. By whom then was the *šimtu*, or 'fate,' determined, which could apparently be altered at will by the head of the pantheon? A study of the Bab. mythology enables us to answer the question with some degree of confidence.

In the legends the power of controlling the fates or destinies of all the gods, in other words, the various departments and sections of the universe, was symbolized by the possession of certain magical tablets, known as the *dupšimāti*, or 'Tablets of Fate.' In the Bab. Creation-legend, when the monster Tiāmat, after the defeat of her consort Apsū, appointed Kingu the leader of her host, she gave him the Tablets of Fate and laid them on his breast: the Tablets were not merely the symbol of authority, but in themselves conferred the power to rule. So, too, the first act of Marduk, after the conquest of Tiāmat and her host, was to take from Kingu the Fate-Tablets, seal them, and place them on his own breast.² It is clear that he did this in order to acquire the power inherent in the Tablets which Kingu had hitherto enjoyed. The magical character of the Tablets and the manner in which their mere possession conferred supreme power upon the holder are well illustrated by the legend of the storm-god Zū, which recounts how he stole them from their rightful owner, Enlil, the god of Nippur.³ The privileges their possession conferred may be gathered from Zū's soliloquy when contemplating the theft:

'I will take the Fate-Tablets of the gods, and the oracles of all the gods will I direct; I will establish my throne and dispense commands; I will rule every one of the Spirits of Heaven!'

The legend relates how Zū waited for the dawn at the entrance of the hall where Enlil dwelt. And, while Enlil was pouring out the clear water for his morning ablution, Zū swooped down and seized the Fate-Tablets which Enlil had laid aside with his diadem and other insignia on the throne beside him. Zū made off with the Tablets to his inaccessible mountain, where he enjoyed the power they conferred until the Sun-god caught him in his net and recovered them for Enlil.

From these passages in the mythology it is clear that the ultimate arbiter of the fates of gods and men was the chief of the gods, and that he enjoyed his power by virtue of the Fate-Tablets which he possessed. But it is not to be inferred that the Fate-Tablets had any independent existence or any power apart from their possessor. It is also clear that they did not in any sense resemble a Book of Fate, for the whole future was not recorded unchangeably upon them: nor have we any evidence that the Divine holder of the Tablets recorded his decrees upon them from time to time. They appear to have been merely magical insignia, which enabled the god who held them actively to control and mould the course of events. The legends which have been recovered concerning them arose at a period when the Bab. pantheon was already in existence, and the owner of the Tablets, and hence the ultimate arbiter of Fate, was the head of the pantheon. Originally this god was Enlil of Nippur, who retains his early privilege in the legend of Zū; with the rise of Babylon to power Marduk usurps

¹ The phrase is *ina am la šimtišu*; cf. Rawlinson, *WAI* i. (1861) pl. 41, col. v. line 2.

² Cf. King, *op. cit.* i. 90 f. and 74 f.

³ Cf. E. J. Harper, *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, ii. (Leipzig, 1894) 409 ff., 467 ff.

the attributes of Enlil, and in the Creation-series in its present form we are told how he became possessed of the Fate-Tablets. In Assyria, on the other hand, Ashur, the national god, inherited in turn the attributes of the supreme Bab. deity—among them the most important being the power to decree fate.

2. From an examination of the uses of the word *šimtu*, and of the legends which refer to the Fate-Tablets, it would seem that, at any rate in popular belief, the fates, both of the universe and of individual gods and men, were not believed to have been fixed from the beginning, but were pictured as in hourly process of development under the personal supervision of the supreme deity. It remains to inquire whether, apart from these legends and beliefs, we may trace evidence that the Babylonians of any period conceived of Fate as an impersonal and inexorable law. To answer this question it will be necessary to refer briefly to one aspect, the so-called 'Astral Theory,' of the Bab. religion, which was elaborated in Germany a few years ago and still retains a considerable following in that country. For upholders of the theory claim that belief in a fixed Fate or Destiny, both of the universe and of the individual, did enter largely into Bab. thought of all periods, including even the pre-historic age.

Perhaps the most characteristic feature of the theory is that, according to the Bab. conception of the universe, everything on earth was a copy of a heavenly prototype. It is well established that the Babylonians, like the Hebrews, conceived the universe as consisting of three parts—the heaven above, the earth beneath, and the waters under the earth. Winckler, the chief exponent of the astral theory, and his followers elaborate this conception of the universe, and would trace in the threefold division of the heavens a parallel to the earth. Thus they would divide the universe, according to their view of Bab. beliefs, into a heavenly and an earthly world, the latter's three divisions (the heaven being confined to the air or atmosphere immediately above the earth) corresponding to the northern heaven, the zodiac, and the southern heaven. The important point to note is that in these threefold subdivisions the zodiac and the earth occupy the second place and correspond to one another. Thus the movements of the sun, the moon, and the five great planets (which are visible to the naked eye) through the ecliptic constellations were held to have a peculiar connexion with events on earth. It is a fact that in the later Bab. period the greater gods were identified with the planets and the lesser gods with the fixed stars, each god having his special house or star in heaven in addition to his temple on earth. By analogy the astral theory assumes that everything on earth had its equivalent in heaven, lands and cities in addition to temples all having their cosmic counterparts. The movements of the stars were, according to the theory, related to events on earth much as a moving object seen in a mirror is related to its reflexion. Their movements were the cause of events on earth; but the movements themselves were not the arbitrary acts of independent deities. They took place in accordance with a cosmic law of harmony, inherent in the universe, and ordained from the beginning of creation. For a further mystical conception is ascribed by the astral mythologists to the Babylonians: that, as the part may be held to correspond in essence to the whole, so any single phenomenon of the universe was believed to reflect the whole in miniature. The course of the world-cycle, for example, was reflected in the struggle of the dual powers of Nature, in light and darkness, in summer and winter, in cold and heat. Moreover, as the succession of day and night may be held to correspond to the changes of the seasons, so the year itself corresponded to greater cycles of time, consisting, on the one hand, in ages of the world during the historic period, and, on the other, in æons of the world-cycle. Thus, according to these mystical doctrines, which are ascribed by the upholders of the astral theory to Babylonians of all periods, every occurrence in both the heavenly and the earthly halves of the universe may be said to have taken place in obedience to the symmetrical but inexorable laws of Fate or Destiny.

It would be out of place in the present article to do more than indicate briefly the false assumptions on which this theory rests. Most theories of interpretation have some historical basis to rest upon, and in making generalizations of this magnitude it is usual to support them by reference to texts of ascertained date. It is characteristic of the representatives of the astral school to do without such aids. Since the inscriptions which have actually been recovered do not in themselves furnish the necessary support for their thesis, they plant the roots of their theory in a purely imaginary age

where evidence for or against it is *ex hypothesi* lacking. Thus the oldest monuments that have been recovered upon Bab. sites are not regarded by them as relics of the early stages of Bab. culture. It is assumed that in the periods behind them there existed a most elaborate and highly developed civilization, described as pre-historic and lying back in the darkness beyond the earliest existing records. In the total absence of material evidence it is no difficult task to paint this age in colours which are shared by no other early or primitive race in the world's history. It is assumed that war and violence had no existence in this pre-historic time. Intellect dominated and controlled the passions of this primeval but highly gifted people, and, in particular, one form of intellectual conception, based on a scientific knowledge of astronomy. It is postulated that a purely astronomical theory or conception of the universe lay at the root of their civilization and governed their whole thought and conduct; and this was no secret teaching of a priesthood, but a universally held belief which permeated every branch of the national and individual life. These doctrines in their perfect state perished with the other relics of their supposed pre-historic inventors. But they were inherited by the Semitic immigrants into Babylonia; and, though employed by them in altered and corrupted forms, have, it is said, left their traces in the cuneiform inscriptions. In this way the astral mythologist attempts to explain the unsatisfactory character of his evidence, from which he claims to be able to reconstruct the original beliefs in their entirety. So involved are they in the conception of an inexorable Fate or Destiny of the universe that, according to the upholders of the astral theory, the earliest Babylonians claimed to be in a position to foretell the future in its broader aspects. For it is asserted that they believed themselves able, by a mystical application of a remarkably accurate knowledge of astronomy, not only to disclose the origin of the world from its birth, but also to foretell its renewal in future æons.

To find evidence for their theory the astral mythologists are naturally obliged to rely on texts which have come down to us from the historic period. Assuming the close correspondence between the zodiac and the earth in early Bab. thought (an assumption to which reference has already been made), it is argued that the Babylonians divided the course of the world's history into Ages according to the particular sign of the zodiac in which the sun stood each year at the vernal equinox. This is a most vital point of the theory, and it postulates on the part of the early Babylonians a highly accurate knowledge of astronomy; it assumes a knowledge on their part of the precession of the equinoxes, which could be based only on a very rigid system of astronomical observation and record. The course of Bab. history, from the pre-historic period onwards, was thus divided, according to the theory, into three Ages—those of the Twins, the Bull, and the Ram—according to the sign of the zodiac in which the sun stood at the vernal equinox. Certain myths are supposed to have characterized each of these Ages, not only affecting religious beliefs, but so impregnating Bab. thought that they even influenced historical writings. As the sun at the vernal equinox gradually progressed through the great ecliptic constellations, so, according to the theory, the history of the world was believed to be evolved in harmony with its course, and the pre-ordained Fate of the universe was slowly unrolled.

It will be unnecessary to point out in detail the arbitrary and fanciful system of interpretation which the astral mythologist is forced to apply to his texts in order to make them fit his theory. It

will suffice to summarize the damaging criticism which the theory has sustained at the hands of an astronomer,¹ by which its supposed astronomical basis has been completely demolished. In the first place, it may be noted that there is no evidence that even the later Babylonians had a sufficiently accurate system of measuring the heavens to enable them to arrive at a knowledge of the precession of the equinoxes. But in complete independence of this fact, and assuming such a knowledge on the part of the Babylonians of all ages, Kugler has shown that the inferences elaborated from the assumption by Winckler and his school do not follow. It is well known that the different ecliptic constellations which make up the signs of the zodiac do not each occupy thirty degrees of the ecliptic, but that some are longer and some shorter. Also the constellations of the Bab. astronomers during the late periods do not completely coincide with ours. For instance, the most eastern star of our constellation Virgo was counted by the Babylonians of the Arsacid era as belonging to the next ecliptic constellation, Leo, since it was known as 'the hind foot of the lion.' But, fortunately for our purpose, not much doubt can exist as to the eastern limit of the Twins and the western limit of the Ram, which mark the beginning and end of the three World-Ages of the astral mythologists; for the two bright stars, Castor and Pollux, from which the Twins receive their name, were undoubtedly reckoned in that constellation by the Babylonians, and the easternmost star of our constellation of the Fishes (*a Piscium*) was probably well beyond the Bab. constellation of the Ram. Working on this assumption, and assigning thirty degrees to each of the three intervening constellations, Kugler has calculated the years in which the sun entered these signs of the zodiac at the vernal equinox. He is consequently able to state accurately the years in which Winckler's World-Ages would have begun and ended, and his figures entirely dispose of all Winckler's claims to an astronomical basis for his astral system. The Age of the Twins, instead of ending, as Winckler and his followers hold, about 2300 B.C., really ended in the year 4383 B.C. Thus the Age of the Bull began fifteen hundred years before the birth of Sargon I., who is supposed to have inaugurated its beginning, and it ended considerably before the birth of Hammurabi, under whom, we are told, the Bull-Age *motifs* were principally developed. Moreover, from the time of the 1st dynasty of Babylon onwards, down to the year 81 B.C., that is to say, during the whole course of her history, Babylon was really living in the Age of the Ram, not in that of the Bull. In short, all the *motifs* and myths which have been so confidently and with such ingenuity connected by the astral mythologists with the Bull sign of the zodiac, ought really to have been connected with the Ram. But even the astral mythologists admit that there is not a trace of a Ram *motif* in the Bab. mythology.² Granting all

¹ See F. X. Kugler, *Im Bannkreis Babels*, Münster, 1910. Cf. also G. Bezold, 'Astronomie Himmelschau und Astrallehre bei den Babyloniern' (*Sitzungsberichte der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 1911, Abh. 2). For a scientific survey of the astronomical knowledge of the Babylonians, see especially Kugler's *Sternkunde und Sternendienst in Babel*, Münster, 1907-1912; and cf. also his *Die babylonische Mondrechnung*, Freiburg im Br. 1900, and Ernst Weidner, *Beiträge zur babylonischen Astronomie (= Beiträge zur Assyriologie)*, viii. 4, Leipzig, 1911). Jastrow's *Die Religion Babyloniens und Assyriens*, ii. 415-748 (Giessen, 1909-1911), contains a detailed description of much of the astrological material.

² According to Winckler's system, the Age of the Ram did not start till about the 8th cent. B.C., being inaugurated by a fresh revision of the calendar under Nabonassar. But no amount of ingenuity can discover material for a Ram *motif* at Babylon. The nearest approach to one is found in the Lihyan desert: Jupiter Ammon is represented with the head of a ram, and he is assumed to have been identical in his nature with Marduk. Thus the new reckoning is supposed to have passed

Winckler's assumptions with regard to the astronomical knowledge of the Babylonians, the theory is found not to stand investigation: his astronomy is at fault, and his three astrological World-Ages do not really correspond with his periods of history. It follows that the Babylonians did not divide the history of the world into astral Ages, and all grounds for the further assumption as to their conception at an early period of a world-cycle, evolved through a succession of æons, in accordance with an inexorable Fate or Destiny, are thus removed.

It remains to inquire whether in the later periods of Babylonian history we may not recognize a fatalistic conception in priestly, as opposed to popular, belief. The evidence of Diodorus, Philo of Alexandria, and other writers may certainly be cited in favour of ascribing to the later Chaldaean priesthood the teaching of a religious and cosmic system closely associated with the idea of an impersonal Fate or Destiny. But their evidence is certainly not applicable to any period earlier than the Seleucid era, where it is impossible to separate the nucleus of native tradition from the essentially different form it assumed under Hellenic influence. It is certain that the gradual advance in the Babylonian knowledge of astronomy from the 8th cent. B.C. onwards prepared the way, in the Achæmenian period, for the recognition of law in the heavens as opposed to the earlier conception of a universe under the arbitrary rule of personal deities swayed by human passions. But it is doubtful whether the Babylonian astrologers themselves ever evolved a conception of Destiny, as existing apart from the gods, except under the direct influence of Greek speculation.

To sum up the results of our inquiry: it is probable that at no period much earlier than the Seleucid era had the Babylonians any conception of Fate or Destiny as a blind, impersonal, and inexorable law, whether as applied to the universe or to the individual. In their belief the fate, whether of a man or of a country (which was usually the limit of their speculation), was not irrevocably fixed, but was in continual process of development, under the supervision of the most powerful deity known to them at the time. In the earliest period the city-god was for his worshippers the unchallenged arbiter of fate; but, with the growth of a federation of cities and the accompanying development of a pantheon, his place was naturally taken by the head of the pantheon—at first Enlil of Nippur, but afterwards Marduk of Babylon; and in Assyria, Ashur, the national god. Before the Hellenistic period, Fate was never dissociated in Babylonian belief from the personal direction of the gods, and, when once it had been decreed, it was still capable, in extreme and exceptional cases, of modification.

LITERATURE.—For collections of passages from the inscriptions in which the Bab. word for 'Fate' occurs, see the references cited on p. 778^a, n. 1; and for passages bearing on the subject in the Bab. mythology, see p. 778^b, notes 2 and 3. The best and most detailed criticism of the so-called 'astral theory' of the Babylonian religion is Kugler's *Im Bannkreis Babels*; and for scientific information on Bab. knowledge of astronomy, see the other works cited on p. 780^a, n. 1.

LEONARD W. KING.

FATE (Buddhist).—To Oriental thought in general, and more especially to a mind trained in Buddhist doctrine and possessed by the teaching and preconceptions of Buddhist ethics, the idea of Destiny or Fate presents itself in an entirely different aspect from that to which Greek mythology or philosophy has given currency in the West. Over in Egypt, while Babylon remained unaffected and continued to enjoy 'Bull *motifs*.' The only explanation put forward is that the Age of the Ram began at a time when the power of Babylon was on the decline. This example of constructive theorizing is quite typical of the ease with which the astral mythologist is capable of clearing the most stupendous obstacles.

'Fate,' in the sense of an external compelling power, with universal sway and irresistible decrees, is a conception entirely alien to the fundamental principles of either of the great schools of Buddhist thought, and is opposed to the exhortations to personal effort and strife in order to win salvation which in the sacred books the Master is constantly represented as uttering. The disciple of the Hīnayāna works out his own deliverance by his own unaided toil and self-discipline; and, as none can help, so none can hinder in the great task. The kindlier and more liberal creed of the Mahāyāna puts at the disposal of the seeker after truth and rest supernatural and effective aid, whereby his feeble endeavours may be seconded and supported, and brought to certain fruition. In either case the issue of life depends ultimately upon the individual, the determining factor being his own will and moral purpose, and neither is the result foreordained nor is he himself the plaything or helpless victim of an omnipotent force which he can neither influence nor resist.

The place which Fate or Destiny occupies in the systems of Greek and European philosophy and theology is in the East taken by *karma* (q.v.). *Karma*, however, implying action with all its results or 'fruits,' so far from being an extraneous and all-compelling force which exercises over the course of human life an irresponsible control that cannot be gainsaid or resisted, is the self-caused and internal constraint of the deeds of the individual in his transient existences upon earth. He is himself his own fate, in that he receives now the due and deserved recompense for what he has himself done, be it good or evil. And his life proceeds, not on lines determined for him from above or from without, but on lines which he has himself marked out and continues to mark out with irrevocable certainty and exactness, as long as a life of fruitful activity is prolonged. Only when his actions cease to bear 'fruit' is the control broken, the power of *karma* rendered ineffective, and he himself set free. Between the conception of 'Fate,' therefore, as defined in the teaching of Greece and the West, and its Buddhist and Eastern counterpart, there is a profound difference as well as a substantial likeness. In both the power is absolute, dominant, and irresistible; its movement can neither be stayed nor turned aside. In the former, however, man has nothing to say to it; he can only bow his head and submit. Fate regulates the course and issue of all, and man can only make the best of his own hard case. According to the scheme of thought of the East, man orders his own destiny. Once determined, it is in each part and at each moment as rigorous and unbending as the most absolute pronouncement of the Fates. What is done cannot be undone; the effect remains, and must be realized in the form of reward or suffering in his own personal experience and life. He may, however, or rather he must, by his own actions and conduct determine what his future shall be. Its course and conditions are entirely laid down by himself. When these have been, as it were, prescribed, they have passed beyond his control and are unalterable and irrevocable. But the future is in his own hands. At each moment by his deeds he is shaping his own destiny. The moulding thereof for good or for evil rests entirely with himself. He ordains and directs his own fate, which is then inexorable and self-operative. All his life long he is under the dominion of *karma*, and cannot escape from its effects.

In a wider cosmical sense it may be said that the conception of Fate prevailed in Buddhism, inasmuch as Buddhist doctrine took over from Hinduism the conception of world-cycles, succeed-

ing one another as the acts of an indefinitely prolonged drama of birth, florescence, decay, and death (cf. AGES OF THE WORLD [Buddhist]). From the Buddhist point of view, each cycle was characterized by the renewed preaching of the true doctrine, which was more or less widely accepted amongst men, ran its course, and then fell into neglect with the increasing prevalence of unbelief and wickedness, and finally disappeared. In each cycle a Buddha is born, who gains for himself illumination and perfect knowledge of the truth, which he then proclaims to the world. But the truth prevails only for a limited period, and is succeeded again by times of ignorance and darkness, dispelled in their turn by a fresh revelation. Thus Gautama, the Buddha of this age, has been preceded by an indefinite number of earlier Buddhas, who in succession taught the Law.¹ He himself prophesied of the end of the present cycle, which would be accompanied by the total disappearance of all knowledge of the truth; thereafter Maitreya, the Buddha of the coming age, would appear upon the earth, would attain to perfect insight and wisdom, and in due time would restore the true doctrine to mankind.²

The series of world-cycles, therefore, is independent of human will and endeavour, and so far corresponds to a conception of Fate, relentless and almost mechanical, with supreme and absolute control of the destinies of all, moving forward resistlessly to a predetermined end. The doctrine, however, is purely cosmical, and does not concern itself with the career or fate of the individual, except in so far as the latter may chance to have been born at an age propitious or otherwise for attending to the preaching of a Buddha. This last event, of course, the time and place of his birth within the cycle, like all the other circumstances and conditions of his life, is controlled by *karma*. His existence is comprised, as it were, within the world-scheme, as an item or element in its progress. But it contributes nothing to its determination, and cannot affect its course. The revolution of the ages, the rise and fall of the true teaching, the destruction and resuscitation of the universe, repeat themselves within assigned and unalterable limits, without cessation, and apparently without conceived or conceivable beginning or end.

It would appear, therefore, that from the Buddhist point of view Destiny or Fate, as it affects the individual, is practically equivalent to a theory of strict and determinate causation, the merit or demerit of his own actions resulting in a proportionate increase of freedom and happiness, or involving him in renewed tribulation and punishment. Moreover, both of the great schools, the Mahāyāna and the Hīnayāna, taught the possibility of deliverance or redemption from the power of *karma*, in the attainment of *nirvāṇa*, the state in which actions are performed without desire or 'clinging,' and therefore do not entail any resultant consequences which must be worked out in a renewed existence. In practice, especially in the Mahāyāna, *nirvāṇa* came to be equivalent to paradise or heaven; but it was originally attainable and attained here upon earth during the mundane life. And the broad difference between the doctrines of the two schools consisted in this, that in the endeavour to reach the goal, and to secure final release, the adherent of the Hīnayāna found himself dependent upon his own unaided exertions;

¹ Eighty-one of these, for example, are enumerated in the *Sukhāvatī-vyūha* 3, beginning with Dipaṅkara, 'long ago in the past, in an innumerable and more than innumerable, enormous, immeasurable, and incomprehensible *kalpa* before now.' Elsewhere predecessors of Dipaṅkara are named (*Jātaka*, i. 43). Gautama is said to have 'received recognition' from twenty-four of these.

² See art. BUDDHA, vol. ii. p. 885

no external aid was either available or possible, and in the most absolute sense of the term he must work out his own salvation. The Mahāyāna, on the contrary, conceived of a hierarchy of supernatural beings, the *Bodhisattvas* (q.v.), who were ever willing and able to bring help in the strife; by whose aid man might rise, when his own strength would fail. The entire cycle, however, of human existence, thus regulated in each individual instance by *karma*, was carried out and completed within the larger cosmical cycle, in which *karma* had no meaning or place. The latter proceeded in a fixed and determined order, through æons upon æons of time. It represented, upon the broadest possible scale, the Buddhist or rather Indian conception of a mechanical and all-controlling Destiny, to which the entire universe was subject, alike in its origin, its progress, and its dissolution.

LITERATURE.—For the general literature, see art. KARMA. Cf. *Dhamma-Saṅgāṇi*, iii. 1, tr. C. A. F. Rhys Davids, in *Buddhist Psychology*, London, 1900, pp. 123-155; *Abhidhammattha-Saṅgāṇa*, v. 8, tr. Shwe Zan Aung, *Compendium of Philosophy*, London, 1910, p. 143 ff.; H. C. Warren, *Buddhism in Translations*, Cambridge, Mass., 1896, pp. 215-221, 226-233, 481-486; D. T. Suzuki, *Outlines of Mahāyāna Buddhism*, London, 1907, p. 196 ff.

A. S. GEDEN.

FATE (Celtic).—As among all imaginative and superstitious peoples, the belief in Destiny was strong among the Gaels. The whole of life was regarded by them as encompassed and ruled by an over-mastering Fate, from which there was no possibility of escape. In the older literature we find constant expression given to this belief.

'If it be here that I am fated to die, I have no power to shun it,' says Diarmaid in the tale of the Pursuit of Diarmaid and Gráinne. 'It is profitless to fly from death; and, though I should avoid the battle, fight never yet saved a wretch,' says Congal before the fatal battle of Magh Rath (ed. O'Donovan, *Irish Arch. Soc.*, Dublin, 1842). 'There are three periods of time that cannot be avoided—the hour of death, the hour of birth, and the hour of conception' (ib.). In an old poem attributed to St. Columba we get the same idea of the fixity of Fate:

'When once the fixed period of death arrives,
There is no fortress which can resist it; . . .
But the fortunate in life are protected
Even in the fore-front of a battle . . .
Whatever God has destined for a man
He leaves not the world until he meet it'

(ed. O'Donovan, *Miscel. Celtic Soc.*, Dublin, 1846).

In like manner, the Gaulish tribe of the Cadurci, when reduced to extremity by Caesar, thought that what was happening was not by the act of man, but by the will of the gods (*de Bell. Gall.* viii. 43. 5).

Though this sense of fatality is as old as pagan times, it is probable that it has rather developed than been checked by Christian teaching. The passivity of mind and the inertia which mark the life of the Gaelic and Breton peasant arise largely out of this feeling that both the good and ill of life lie entirely outside of his control; his stoic acceptance of evil and death rests upon the same idea. The legends and folk-tales both of Brittany and of the Gaelic-speaking peoples are filled with the same overpowering sense of fatality. Connected with this are the omens of death or ill-luck which we find penetrating all Celtic literature, and which are universally believed in at the present day; and, again, the belief in lucky and unlucky days and hours. In the old medical treatises, the cross or unlucky days are set down in order, and in Christian times Biblical events were made to coincide with the days or hours of pagan observance. It was customary to consult a Druid or soothsayer as to the lucky moments for beginning a journey, battle, or other undertaking.

King Dathi requires his Druid to 'let him know his destiny and that of his country,' for a twelvemonth from that day (O'Curry, *MS. Mat.*, Dublin, 1861, p. 234). Before the campaign of the Táin hó Cualnge, the host were kept waiting a fortnight until a good omen was obtained (*Leabhar na hUídhre* [LU], 55a), and at the muster of the Hill of Slane or Sleamain of Meath in this same story the onset is held back until the lucky moment of sunrise (*Leabhar Laignech*, or Book of

Leinster [LL], 101a). Again, Óchulainn was bound to be famous if he took arms on a particular day (ib. 64b); and a child, if not born before a certain day foretold by the Druids, would become a great king (S. H. O'Grady, *Síla Gadelica*, London, 1892, ii. 254). Lucky and unlucky days have great prominence given to them in the Coligny Calendar (J. Rhys, 'Celtæ and Galli,' in *Proc. of the British Academy*, London, 1905).

Regular horoscopes were drawn at critical moments in a chief's career (Battle of Magh Lena, ed. O'Curry for the Celtic Soc., 1855). Omens were obtained by means of various Druidical rites. Chief of these was *imbas forosnai*, or the 'knowledge which illumines,' which was gained through a magic sleep, and was associated with offerings to idols. The means of inducing this sleep of incantation is elaborately described in Cormac's *Glossary* (ed. Whitley Stokes, London, 1862, p. 94). Sometimes this knowledge seems to have been obtained by looking into a crystal. The prophetess Fedelm, who declares that she has knowledge of this art, is asked by Queen Medb to 'look for her' what will be the fate of her expedition. Then the maiden 'looked for it,' apparently into a ball or crystal (LU 55b). Another heathen method of divination was known as *teinm læghda*, which enabled an inquirer to discover such matters as to whom the body of a headless corpse belonged (Cormac's *Glossary*, p. 130). Both these methods of divination are said to have been suppressed by St. Patrick, on account of the idol observances with which they were accompanied (ib. p. 94 f.; *Senchus Mór*, vol. i. [Dublin, 1868] pp. 24, 44), but he permitted the use of a means of foresight known as *dicetal dochennaib*, which was gained from some incantations made with the finger-tips, and was not accompanied by offerings to idols. Instruction in these arts formed part of the regular course of the fully-equipped *file*, or Druid of the higher ranks (cf. art. COMMUNION WITH DEITY [Celtic]). At times the decision as to who was to be elected king was reached by Druidical revelation gained in sleep, after a 'bull-feast' (*Bruighen dá Derga*, ed. Stokes, 1902, pp. 14, 15). The stone on which the kings of Ireland were crowned at Tara was called the *Lia Fáil*, or 'Stone of Destiny,' because it was believed to cry aloud when the rightful heir stepped upon it. In the before-mentioned poem, or 'Lorica,' attributed to St. Columba, several means of divination are mentioned as practised by Druids:

'Our destiny is not with the *sreod*,
Nor with the bird on the top of the twig,
Nor with the trunk of the gnarled tree,
Nor with a *sordan*, hand on hand . . .
I adore not the voice of birds,
Nor a *sreod*, nor a destiny, nor this earthly world,
Nor a son, nor chance, nor woman;
My Druid is Christ, the Son of God.'

In an old historical poem relating to the settlements of the Cruithne, or Irish Picts, in Alba (Scotland), among the kinds of divination taught by evil Druids and necromancers were:

'The honouring of *sreaths* and omens,
Choice of weather, lucky times,
The watching the voices of birds,
They practised without disguise . . .'
(Irish Nennius, ed. J. H. Todd, *Irish Arch. Soc.*, 1848, p. 146).

The exact significance of some of these terms of divination is not known, but the word *sreod* is equated with *sén* or *séon*, 'good omen' or 'luck,' in various passages; and in MS. Laud, 615, p. 7, we read: *ní h-ág sreoid atá mo chuid*, 'not for me is the luck of the *sreod*.' *Séona-saobha* means 'augury,' or 'sorcery'; and in LL 101a we read of the 'power of the *séon* and of the *solud*,' *nert don t-séon agus don solud*—evidently omens of good-fortune. A lucky moment is called *séon* in LU 55a, and *sén* in LL 64a. It is possible that the *sreth* or *sreod* may be connected with *sraod* or *sraoth*, 'sneezing'—a form of augury known in early times, and frequently condemned by

Synods. See, further, CELTS, vol. iii. p. 300, and DIVINATION (Celtic), vol. iv. p. 787.

The sense of Destiny surrounding each person of importance is expressed in the old tales by means of tabus (called in Irish *gessa* or *geasa*), usually laid on him at birth, and which, when his doom is about to overtake him, are broken through by him, one by one, against his own will, foreshadowing evil. Many of the Irish *gessa* were, no doubt, real tabus actually imposed upon kings and chiefs. We possess a complete tract giving the restrictions which had to be observed by the provincial kings of ancient Ireland (*Leabhar na g-ceart*, ed. O'Donovan for the Celtic Soc., Dublin, 1847, pp. 1-25); but they are used in the old romantic tales, with the definite poetic purpose of representing the unescapable decrees of Destiny. They have all the Greek sense of over-mastering Fate. They are usually, especially the birth-tabus, laid on the hero at birth; but any one seems to have had the power of inflicting them, and they appear to have been equally binding, however they were imposed.

In the story called 'The Tragical Fate of the Sons of Uisnach,' the tabu of Fergus to refuse a feast resulted in the death of the three brothers; in the 'Pursuit of Diarmaid and Gráinne,' the death of the hero was due to his neglect of his tabu 'never to hunt a boar'; the breaking of the *gessa* laid upon the boy Conla by Cúchulainn resulted in the slaying of the son by his own father.

Elaborate *gessa* were laid on each of the chief heroes of the older, or Cúchulainn, cycle of tales (see CÚCHULAINN CYCLE), and it is in the gradual and inevitable breaking down of these *gessa* that the tragedy of their doom consists. The approaching end of each, and especially of the central figure of Cúchulainn himself, is surrounded by omens (cf. art. CELTS, in vol. iii. p. 300, § 6). In the Ossianic tales, especially the more recent of them, less stress is laid upon the breaking of tabus, but great prominence is given to the omens of sickness or death, such as the howling of dogs, clouds red like blood, and foreboding dreams (Trans. of the Ossianic Soc.). These signs are still regarded as sure forewarnings of a fatal catastrophe.

Another remnant of a very ancient superstition is the belief that 'banshees,' or female fairies (see DEMONS AND SPIRITS [Celtic]), foretold by their wailings near a house the death of an inmate. The banshee is usually the early pagan goddess of the district which she haunts, but she appears as a weeping woman, mournfully bewailing the expected death. Many families have their own special banshees who always appear before a death in the family. Sometimes, instead of the presiding genius of the country, some woman who has met an accidental death acts the part of the banshee, and is heard crying and moaning. There are examples of the appearances of banshees in the old historical literature.

Queen Aoibhíll of Oraig Liath, the presiding goddess of Clare and banshee of the Dalcassian race, appears to King Brian Boromhe before the Battle of Clontarf to forewarn him of his death (*War of the Gaedhil with the Gaill*, ed. J. H. Todd, London, 1887, p. 201). The same goddess has been seen in recent times attended by twenty-five other banshees of Clare before an impending disaster.

In many of the ancient tales this forerunner of death takes the form either of a beautiful but weeping maiden or of a gruesome and monstrous hag, who is found in the path of a host going to battle, or of a chief who is doomed to death, stooping over a stream, washing and wringing bloody garments and weapons. She is called the 'washer of the Ford,' and she informs the doomed man or host that it is their own bloody garments that she is wringing out.

As late as 1318, Richard de Clare and his Norman troops met this hideous figure, 'washing armour and rich robes till the red gore churned and splashed through her hands,' when they were on their way to plunder the O'Deas of Dysert. She tells Richard

that she is come to invite him to join her among the tribes of Hell. Next day Richard and his son and host lay dead upon the field near the fort of Dysert.

A similar superstition is that of the 'death's coach,' with headless driver and black or headless horses which, if it passes by a house or through a village, must not be stopped on its way. If it meets with any impediment or draws up at a door, some one is sure to die next day within the house. These beliefs are firmly held in all parts of Ireland, and many apparently authenticated cases are recorded of such events actually happening within recent times (*FL* iv. [1893] 352, x. [1899] 119, 122; T. C. Croker, *Fairy Legends*, London, 1870, p. 250). In Brittany the same superstition exists; the 'Coach of the Ankou' is driven by a figure who is the personification of death, imagined as tall and lean with long white hair, or as a skeleton whose head turns about every way inspecting the country. His coach resembles a funeral cart with tandem-horses, and he is escorted by two companions walking beside the cart, who open the gates of fields or the doors of houses and pile the dead upon the vehicle. The 'Ankou' is the last person who has died in each parish during the year, and is replaced at the end of twelve months by a successor (A. le Braz, *La Légende de la mort*, new ed., Paris, 1902, i. 95-99).

LITERATURE.—This has been given in the article. Cf. also the literature appended to art. DEMONS AND SPIRITS (Celtic).

ELEANOR HULL.

FATE (Chinese).—1. Definition of the term.—The Chinese equivalent for 'fate,' viz. *ming*, like the original of our English word, means primarily 'something spoken or decreed.' It is composed of the radical for 'month' and the symbol for 'law' or 'commandment,' the latter supplying the place of phonetic as well as supplementing the force of the radical. As *fatum* in philosophical language represents the eternal, immutable law of the gods, so *ming* is interpreted as the appointment of Heaven, the unalterable decree which determines man's lot; it is often used as synonymous with 'life'—regarded as the span of existence, whose limits are irrevocably fixed, so that a long *ming* is but another name for long life. To 'calculate the *ming*' is to forecast one's fortune. Owing to the fact that the term is sometimes applied in connexions which seem to admit of a variety of interpretations, some difference of opinion exists as to whether the Chinese should be described as fatalists, but it may be said without hesitation that the weight of evidence is in favour of such a description. It may be sufficient to note, with regard to the contrary view, that there are circumstances under which it may be possible, according to Chinese theories, to escape one's destiny, which might seem to imply that *ming* was not considered as invariable; but it will be found, on investigation, that in such cases apparent failure of the decree was of the nature of a deprivation of the gifts which Heaven had in store, in consequence of the unwillingness or unworthiness of the intended recipient to receive or retain them, rather than malfeasance on the part of Heaven. From this point of view it might seem that man is regarded as the potential master of his destiny, but, on the other hand, it must be borne in mind that, though he may fail to realize, or deliberately reject, the high position marked out for him by fate, he may by no means attain to a higher station than that which is destined for him.

2. Classical references.—In the Confucian classics the term *ming* frequently occurs, though, as we are informed, it was one of the subjects on which the Master was characteristically reticent. The word is sometimes qualified by the addition of 'Heaven,' i.e. 'Heaven's decree'; and sometimes 'Heaven'

alone stands for the *decree of Heaven*. The two terms are often found in apposition, as in the statement, 'Death and life have their determined appointment (*ming*), riches and honour depend upon Heaven.'

When a disciple named Po Niu was visited by Confucius, and found to be hopelessly ill, the Master said: 'It is the appointment (*ming*) of Heaven, alas!' The expression is frequently used with regard to the ancient rulers: 'Heaven decreed him the throne.' Again, we read of the 'superior man,' the Confucian ideal, as 'waiting, quietly and calmly, for the appointment of Heaven,' i.e. his destiny, in contrast with the 'inferior man' who 'walks in dangerous paths looking for luck.' In another passage Confucius says: 'Without recognizing the decree it is impossible to be a "superior man."' He frequently refers to destiny as influencing his own life, e.g.: 'Heaven produced the virtue that is in me'; 'At 50 I knew the decree of Heaven'; 'While Heaven does not let the cause of truth perish, what can the people of Kw'ang do to me?'; 'If my principles are to advance, it is so ordered; if they are to fall to the ground, it is so ordered (*ming*)'; 'Heaven is destroying me.'

From statements such as these it may be argued that, to the mind of the Sage, *ming* meant very much what we mean by destiny or fate: something which he recognized as actively operating in the determination of man's lot, but which he refused to discuss or analyze, regarding it, in common with spiritual beings and other extra-mundane phenomena, as beyond the pale of controversy.

3. Mencius.—The philosopher Mencius agrees with Confucius in regarding *ming* as Heaven's decree, in his references to the ancient 'Emperors' Yao and Shun; and quotes passages from the *Odes* to the effect that 'God, having passed the decree, caused the descendants of Shang to submit to the new dynasty of Chow.' When the prospect of obtaining preferment was suggested to him, he replied, in the words of Confucius: 'That shall be as Heaven directs.' He speaks of Heaven's gift of the kingdom to Shun, though he does not describe it as resulting from *destiny*, but rather as the demonstration of Heaven's will by Shun's personal character and achievements. His pronouncements on the subject are much looser than those of Confucius, since he speaks in one place of calamity and happiness as being in all cases of man's own seeking, and endeavours to illustrate his theory by a quotation from the *Odes*: 'Study always to be in harmony with the ordinances (*ming*), so you will certainly get for yourself much happiness'; and again, in a passage from the *Canon of History*: 'When Heaven sends down calamities, it is still possible to escape from them; when we occasion the calamities ourselves, it is not possible any longer to live.' There is a further explanation in a later phrase of his: 'That which is done without man's doing is from Heaven, that which happens without man's causing it to happen is from the ordinance (*ming*).' There is, therefore, a destiny decreed for every man, 'there is an appointment (*ming*) for everything,' and it is possible for each man to 'establish his destiny,' or fail to realize the favours which Heaven wills to bestow on him. An early and apparently untimely death may be ascribed to destiny, if encountered in the honourable discharge of one's duty; but a disgraceful death cannot be so attributed. Men should calmly await the fate which is decreed for them; but, should they place themselves in needless danger, they may entail upon themselves a 'fate' which is not of Heaven's appointment.

Destiny and Nature are closely associated in some passages of Mencius, and seem to reflect what is said in ch. i. of the *Doctrine of the Mean*: 'What Heaven has conferred (*ming*) is called Nature,' the idea being that Heaven has decreed an ideal destiny for man, and his success or failure in realizing that destiny represents the extent to which his nature is in harmony with the ideal. He may attain to the highest honours, if such are indicated to him by the understood will of Heaven,

as in the case of the ancient rulers; or he may, like some of them, be condemned, by his own moral delinquency, to surrender the powers and dignities to which, humanly speaking, his former virtues entitled him. His ideal destiny may assign him a potential longevity, which he may reject by voluntary suicide. It is only when his nature is cultivated so as to correspond with the ideal that he can fulfil his ideal destiny. He discovers his destiny by performance of the eternal law of Right, and thus Mencius, when asked 'Did Heaven confer its appointment on Shun with specific injunctions?' replied 'No, Heaven does not speak, it simply showed its will by his personal actions and conduct of affairs.' By this means Shun was declared to be 'the man after God's own heart,' by the conferring of the Imperial dignity upon him.

The ideal destiny is limited or determined, in the sense that none can reach a higher standard than that appointed for him. In the case of some, that appointed limit may not permit him to rise above the lowest levels of human attainment; in other cases it may allow the happy recipient to secure the position of 'assessor with the Deity.' A recent pronouncement by a Confucian writer states that 'Confucius emphatically denies that all men may be made good' (Lim Boon Keng, in *China*, Jan. 1912, p. 515). Man may represent an early stage in the evolutionary process which, in course of time, may produce a sage; but, in his own person, he can have no hope of reaching that proud position, though he may rejoice in the privilege of advancing the process by strict attention to the limited sphere of his own responsibilities. He may, on the other hand, inherit a noble destiny, and not only fail to attain it, but by his failure retard the evolutionary process, and bring about a condition of atavism.

4. The Chucian school.—The reticence of Confucius with reference to *ming* gave his later expositors the opportunity of elaborating theories of their own; and their materializing tendencies are reflected in the *Doctrine of the Mean*, attributed to Tsze-sze, a grandson of Confucius, who was also, to a great extent, the inspirer of Mencius. A further development is observable in the writings of Chu-hsi (Chucius) (A.D. 1130–1200), who depraves Destiny by explaining it as meaning simply Nature, and Nature as equivalent to Principle, whether existing in the natures of men or beasts. In other words, men and beasts inherit their individual natures, which constitute each of them a law unto himself; but, since Nature, or Principle, may become deflected, an outside standard is necessary for correction of morals, viz. *Tao*, or 'the Way'; and *Kiao*, or 'instruction,' which is furnished by sages and teachers. It should be borne in mind that Chucius was largely influenced by Buddhistic opinions, and that the doctrine of *karma*, no doubt, affected his treatment of the subject; and, since Chucius is admitted to be the most popular exponent of the Confucian school at the present time, it is not surprising that the Chinese should be represented as thorough believers in fatalism. To the latter fact has been credited the universal traffic in astrology, fortune-telling, clairvoyance, mesmerism, necromancy, palmistry, physiognomy, the planchette, and the use of nostrums and charms, all with a view to discovering and influencing one's destiny. For, though the Chinese may sometimes appear to disclaim belief in a predestined and irrevocable fate, and express contempt for the methods by which an equivocal decree is supposed to be adjusted or evaded, it is evident, from many expressions in common use, that they are obsessed with the idea that an unalterable fate attends certain courses of action, and that the only way to

obviate that destiny is to refrain from entering upon such courses; and thus the ignorant masses, who cannot attain to that state of enlightenment where individual destiny is understood, flock to the charlatans who profess to lift the veil which hides the future, so that the inquirer may learn the fate which threatens him, and take steps to escape it.

5. Historical illustrations.—Chinese history, especially in its earlier periods, abounds in references to the Decree by which kings reigned, and which was unalterable so long as individuals and dynasties exhibited that congruity with the will of Heaven which justified their appointment and established their fortunes.

An early instance is supplied in connexion with the tripods of Yu (2205-2197 B.C.), of which it is said: 'Their weight depended upon the virtue of the man who endeavoured to lift them. If it was slight, they were heavy and immovable; but if great, they were as light as a feather.' These tripods were given, it was believed, 'by the direct interference of Heaven . . . and none could possess them except by its will.' Fu-kien, king of the State of Ts'in (4th cent. A.D.), said, with reference to the methods suggested for the repression of a suspected rebel, 'To whomsoever Heaven has decreed to give the kingdom, that man shall have it, and not all the wisdom or might of this world can prevent it.' In the following century Siau-tau, a military commander under Ming-ti, was generally regarded 'as a man whom Heaven seemed to have destined for a throne'; and the chronicles of the time show that, in spite of the machinations of the court against him, he ultimately succeeded in founding the dynasty of Ts'i, over which he ruled with the title of Kau ti. During an outbreak of plague in Shensi, at the end of the 6th cent., so great a condition of panic was created that the sick were utterly abandoned by their relatives through fear of infection, and confidence was not restored until Sin-kung, the local governor, having cared for the afflicted in his own residence, gave them back to their relatives when convalescent, with the words, 'Life and death are in the hands of Heaven. Why are you afraid of infection?' When the consort of Ta'i-tsung was about to die (A.D. 637), she heard that steps were being taken to secure the prolongation of her life by an appeal to Heaven, and, calling her son, the prime mover in the matter, to her bedside, said: 'Our life is in the hands of Heaven; and, when it decides that we shall die, there is no mortal power that can prolong it.' The Emperor Ta'i-tsung himself, at a later period (A.D. 645), in view of the disasters which menaced his throne, proposed a general massacre of the ladies of his harem, because it was prophesied that from amongst them a queen should arise who would exterminate the royal house of Tang; but he was dissuaded from adopting such a course by Li-fung, who assured him that the coming events were ordained by Heaven, and that, though he might destroy every individual in the palace, it would raise up another to carry out its sovereign will. When Chang Shih-kieh, a faithful general of the Sung dynasty (A.D. 1280), was threatened with shipwreck, he refused to save himself by attempting to beach his ship, saying, 'When one Emperor perished, I set up another; he also has disappeared; and now to-day I meet this great storm; surely it must be the will of Heaven that the Sung dynasty should perish.' Noorachu, the founder of the Manchu dynasty (A.D. 1616), assumed the name of T'ien Ming = 'By decree of Heaven,' as his royal title on the establishment of the new dynasty.

6. Proverbial references.—The Chinese view with regard to the interposition of Destiny, as illustrated in the preceding, is confirmed by the everyday language of the people. 'All is Destiny' is a phrase which is constantly heard. 'Tum, tum, tum, life is fixed,' is a proverb which represents the strumming of the fortune-teller's guitar, and expresses the futility of man's efforts to change his lot. 'Nothing proceeds from the machinations of man, one's whole life is planned by Destiny,' conveys a similar lesson. Other common phrases thus express it:

'If it is your fate to gain wealth, you will at last possess it; if it is your fate not to have wealth, do not use violence to get it.' 'If fated to have sons, what matters it early or late?' 'A man's disease can be cured, but not his fate.' 'Ill-gotten gains will not enrich those whose fate it is to be poor.' 'Planning matters pertains to man, completing matters pertains to Heaven.' 'Man contrives, Heaven decrees, i.e. 'Man proposes, Heaven disposes,' 'Heaven decrees happy unions,' i.e. 'Marriages are made in Heaven.' 'Everything depends on Heaven and Fate, and not on man.' 'All the plans of man are unequal to the one fixed determination of Heaven.'

7. Popular literature.—The doctrine of Fate in works of fiction is well illustrated in such selections from Chinese literature as *Strange Stories from a Chinese Studio* (see Lit. below); and the 'Book of Fate' is frequently referred to as being consulted in order to discover the terms of one's lease of life.

VOL. V.—50

The inevitableness of Fate is tacitly accepted by the Chinese people, and finds constant illustration in their otherwise inexplicable carelessness in the control of fire, which sometimes devastates enormous areas; the neglect of proper precautions against flood, which has been known to inundate whole counties; and similar remissness in connexion with the outbreak of 'plague, pestilence, and famine,' or even personal afflictions, such as abnormal growths or deformities. The whole tendency of Taoism, which, though sadly depraved by its modern representatives, is, nevertheless, a powerful influence among the thinking classes, may well be described as fatalistic, inculcating, as it does, that absolute compliance with the *Tao*, or 'Course of Nature,' which precludes the stirrings of ambition, and deprecates all restless striving in the direction of self-advancement, whether by virtue of one's individual merits, or by sedulous attention to the desires of the higher or even the highest powers, including the gods themselves.

In conclusion, it may be said that, on this subject, as in the case of many others, the Chinese appear to be able to harmonize what might seem to Westerners to be conflicting and contradictory opinions. They express belief in an unalterable destiny, and yet speak of the possibility of evading that destiny, of a fate which is unaffected by outside agencies, whilst at the same time they seek by every means to anticipate the decree by recourse to horoscopes, fortune-tellers, etc. The explanation is supplied by the theory that the debased may surrender the good fortune in store for them, for Heaven has the right to annul a destiny which proves to be too good for its intended recipient. The ignorant may be unaware of the destiny which Heaven intends for them, and thus neglect to qualify for their predestined lot. Only complete sincerity can attain to the foreknowledge of Heaven's appointment: only he who fashions his life in accordance with 'the Way' can hope to gain the highest places which beneficent Heaven has to bestow. Death is unalterably fixed in the case of all men, and this belief gives rise to that extraordinary resignation with which the Chinese accept the death penalty; but one's lot in life is, to a large extent, in one's own hands; happiness may be secured, and calamity averted, by living in accordance with *Tao*, as set forth in the Confucian classics; for, as the proverb says, 'If Heaven should weary my body, I must set it off by putting my heart at ease.'

LITERATURE.—J. Legge, *Chinese Classics*, London, 1861; J. MacGowan, *Hist. of China*, do. 1897; H. A. Giles, *Strange Stories from a Chinese Studio*, do. 1909; J. Doolittle, *Social Life of the Chinese*, New York, 1887; A. H. Smith, *Proverbs and Common Sayings of the Chinese*, Shanghai, 1888, also *Chinese Characteristics*, New York, 1900.

W. GILBERT WALSH.

FATE (Egyptian).—The Egyptians had a very definite notion of Fate or Destiny, which was personified as the deity Shai. The word for 'destiny,' *shai*, later *sai* (*shai*), is derived from the verb *sa*, 'decide,' 'define,' the German *bestimmen*; *sai*, therefore, = 'was bestimmt ist,' as in the verse, 'Es ist bestimmt in Gottes Rath, Dass man vom Besten was man hat, Muss scheiden, ja scheiden'; *sai* = 'what must be,' unavoidable Fate. We find it in this sense always: even the heresy of Akhenaten did not deny Fate, and the word occurs in the inscriptions of his high priest Merir'a at el-Amarna (1370 B.C.). A prominent example of its use is in the inscription of Amasis describing the overthrow of Apries at Momemphis (560 B.C.):

'The land was traversed as by the blast of a tempest, destroying their ships [i.e. those of the Greek allies of Apries], abandoned by the crews. The [Egyptian] people accomplished their fate [that of the Greeks]; killing their prince [Apries] on his couch, when he had come to repose in his cabin.'

Naturally, unavoidable fate was regarded as evil fate, and *sai* can mean this without qualification. In the 'Israel-Stela' of Merenptah (1230 B.C.), which records the ravaging of Palestine by the Egyptians and the destruction of Israel, the word is 'determined' by the ideograph of a devouring dog: an evil animal was destiny!

Death was the destiny of all, whether the rich man who built himself a pyramid of granite, or the poor *fellaḥ meskīn* who died of heat and labour on the canal-dyke or *gīsr*, with none but the fish to see him die. It was an evil destiny, death, and, when one thought upon it, one was disturbed, and tears came to the eyes; the very thought of death was pain and grief; never would one come back from the tomb to see the sun. So said his soul to 'Tired-of-Life' in the curious dialogue translated by Erman; but the man himself, seeking rest from the wickedness of the world, saw in death no evil fate, but rather a glorious one, since, when dead, he would become a 'living God,' who would accompany R'a in his sun-ship through the sky, all-seeing and all-knowing, and able to punish evil-doers. So 'Tired-of-Life' rebuked his soul, and so the common fate of man appeared to the religious, then as now, rather a good than an evil destiny, and 'That-which-must-be' (*sai*) was deprived of his terrors. He ceased to be the Devourer, and became, instead, the Benefactor. Shai now appears, in late times, as a popular deity in the form of a serpent, the animal which had become the emblem or image of any and every deity otherwise unprovided with an animal-form. For religious reasons connected with the idea of death, as mentioned above, and for eponymous reasons too, no doubt, Destiny gradually comes to be regarded as a beneficent rather than a maleficent demon, and eventually in Roman times develops into the good angel of mankind and is translated into Greek as *Ἀγαθοδαίμων*. When the priests wanted to call the Emperor Antoninus Pius 'the good genius of Egypt,' they wrote *p-sai n Kemet*, which to their predecessors of a thousand years earlier could have meant nothing but 'the evil destiny of Egypt'! At Dendūr in Nubia the local god Petisis is similarly called *p-sai Enthūr*, 'the *Ἀγαθοδαίμων* (not the *Μοῖρα*) of Dendūr.' It is in his capacity of protecting daemon that we find the serpent Shai, wearing the crowns of a Pharaoh and bearing the *caduceus* of Hermes and the *thyrsus* of Dionysos (a true type of the *Mischkunst* of the time), represented on either side of the inner doorway of the great family catacomb at Kom esh-Shukafa at Alexandria, which dates from the 2nd cent. A.D. In the 3rd cent. magical papyri we find Shai as the *agathodæmon*, the spirit of good rather than of bad luck: in a love-charm he is invoked as 'the great Shai who makes magic for the great (goddess) Triphis, the lady of Koou.' Triphis (*t-ripe(t)*), 'the princess,' was a form of Hathor, the goddess of love, who also from the earliest times had been connected with the idea of Fate: 'the seven Hathors' foretell the destiny of a child at its birth as early as the Vth dynasty. The name of Shai was now very popular in compound personal appellations: thus we find *Senpsais* ('Daughter of Shai'), *Tapsais* ('She who belongs to Shai'), *Petepsais* ('He whom Shai hath given'), and so forth. As the Good Spirit, he was now regarded as watching over the safety of the crops, and appears as a male counterpart of the corn-goddess Ernute (Thermuthis). Such is the history of an Egyptian godling. By this time the word *sai* had probably lost entirely its original signification of 'what is determined,' 'destiny unavoidable.' It does not occur in this sense in Coptic, in which *ⲩⲁⲅ* (*sau*) means 'good,' 'pleasant,' 'proper,' thus

preserving rather the altered and later agathodæmonic signification of the word.

LITERATURE.—On the derivation of the word *sai*, see H. Brugsch, *Hierogl. Wörterb.* Leipzig, 1867-82, Suppl. p. 1219; on the divinity, *Book of the Dead*, ch. cxxv.; *Book of Traversing Eternity* (ed. E. v. Bergmann, Vienna, 1877, i. 73, 46, n. 69); G. Steindorff, *ZA*, 1890, p. 51; and H. R. Hall, *PSBA* xxvii. (1905) 87-89, where references to inscriptions quoted are given, except that of Amasis (Daressy, *RT* xxii. 1 ff., tr. Hall from Daressy's *Egypt. text in Oldest Civilization of Greece*, 1901, appendix, p. 323 f.; J. H. Breasted, *Anc. Records*, Chicago, 1906-07, iv. 996 ff.) and the 'Dialogue of the Man Tired of Life with his Soul,' for which see A. Erman, 'Gespräch eines Lebensmüden mit seiner Seele,' *ABAW*, Tübingen, 1896. For Shai in the magical papyri, see F. Ll. Griffith, *Stories of the High Priests of Memphis*, Oxford, 1900, p. 54; Griffith and Thompson, *Magical Papyrus of London*, London, 1909, p. 185. On the Hathors, see A. Erman, *Die Märchen des Papyrus Westcar*, Berlin, 1891.

H. R. HALL.

FATE (Greek and Roman).—Fate is the counterpart of Fortune (*q.v.*). They are two ways of looking at life; both are essentially connected with man. From the point of view of Fortune all is indeterminate; from the point of view of Fate all is determined. And Fate, like Fortune, attains to deity before our eyes during the course of Greek literature. From the first the idea of a predetermined order of destiny in the affairs of man was present to the mind of Hellas, and was fostered by the belief in oracles. 'Fatum a fando,' says Augustine (*de Civ. Dei*, v. 9). Fate is by derivation 'that which has been spoken,' with the implication that it shall be fulfilled. The nearest verbal equivalent to this in Greek is *τὸ χρεών*, since that is connected with the appropriate word for the answer of an oracle; cf. *Eur. Hipp.* 1256:

οὐδ' ἐστὶ μοῖρας τοῦ χρεών τ' ἀπαλλαγῇ.¹

But there is a great variety of ways in which the idea of Fate may be expressed in Greek: e.g. *αἶσα*, *αἰσιμον*, *αἰσιμον ἡμαρ*, *μοῖρα*, *μόρος*, *μόρσιμον*, *τὸ μόρσιμον*, *μόρσιμον ἡμαρ*, *αἰὼν μόρσιμος*, *μοιρίδιον ἡμαρ*, *εἰμαρται*, *εἰμαρτο*, *εἰμαρμένον*, *ἡ εἰμαρμένη*, *πέπρωται*, *πέπρωτο*, *πεπρωμένον*, *πεπρωμένη μοῖρα*, *ἡ πεπρωμένη*, *κῆρ*, *κῆρες*, *δαίμων*.

1. Homer.—The idea of Fortune (*τύχη*), as Macrobius (*Sat.* v. 16) has pointed out, is unknown to Homer, but not so the idea of Fate. The latter is everywhere present both in the *Iliad* and in the *Odyssey*, though the three Fates as mythological persons are not yet to be found. *Μοῖρα* in Homer is always singular, except in *Il.* xxiv. 49:

τλήνῃ γὰρ Μοῖραι θυμὸν θέσαν ἀνθρώποιςιν.

Μοῖρα is the abstract noun from *μειρῶσαι*, so that the idea underlying it is that of some Power which apportions to man his destiny. We may conjecture that the same meaning attaches also to *Αἶσα*, which is used convertibly with *Μοῖρα*:

Il. vi. 487 f.: οὐ γὰρ τίς μ' ὑπὲρ αἴσαν ἀνὴρ ἄϊδι προΐαφει·

μοῖραν δ' οὐτινὰ φημι πεφνημένον τιμῆναι ἀνδρῶν.

Od. v. 113-115: οὐ γὰρ οἱ τῆδ' αἶσα φίλων ἀπονέσφιν ἐλέσθαι,

ἀλλ' ἐτι οἱ μοῖρ' ἐστὶ φίλων τ' ἰδέειν καὶ ἰκέσθαι

οἴκον ἐς ὑψόροφον καὶ ἔην ἐς πατρίδα γαίαν.

Αἰσιμον occurs in *Il.* xxi. 291:

ὡς οὐ τοι ποταμῷ γε δαμῆμεναι αἰσιμὸν ἐστίν,

and *αἰσιμον ἡμαρ* in *Il.* viii. 72, xxi. 100.²

Μόρος stands to *Μοῖρα* in the relation of effect to cause, and is therefore less liable to personification:

Il. xix. 421: εὐ νύ τοι οἶδα καὶ αὐτὸς, ὅ μοι μόρος ἐνθάδ' ἐλέσθαι.

An example of *μόρσιμον* is *Il.* v. 674 f.:

οὐδ' ἄρ' Ὀδυσσεύϊ μεγάλῃτορ μορσιμον ἦεν

ἱφθιμον Διὸς υἱὸν ἀποκταίμεν ὅξει χάλκῳ,

and of *μόρσιμον ἡμαρ*, *Il.* xv. 613; *Od.* x. 175. *νῦν δέ με λευγαλέφ θανάτῳ εἰμαρτο ἀλῶναι* occurs in *Il.* xxi. 281 and in *Od.* v. 312.

Πέπρωται and its cognates come from the root *por-*, which means 'provide,' and so convey the same idea as *μόρος* of something predetermined.

Il. xviii. 329: ἀμφὶ γὰρ πέπρωται ἡμοῖτη γαῖαν ἐρεῖσαι.

Il. iii. 308 f.: Ζεὺς μὲν πονεῖν οἶδε καὶ ἀδανάτοι θεοὶ ἄλλοι,

ὁπποτέρῳ θανάτῳ τέλος πεπρωμένον ἐστίν.

¹ Cf. *Herc. Fur.* 811; *Elect.* 1301; *Iph. Taur.* 1486; *Bac.* 518.

² Cf. oracle of Bacis, in Herod. ix. 43.

In *Il.* xvi. 441 f. (=xxii. 179 f.) πεπρωμένον is used of the victim of fate, meaning 'foredoomed'—

αὐδρα θνητὸν εὐντα, πάλας πεπρωμένον αἶσθ
ἀφ' ἐθέλεις θανάτοιο δυσχερὸς ἐξανάλυσαι;

Κῆρ and Κῆρες represent Fate on its sinister side, and so are generally associated with death.

Il. xiii. 78 f.:

ἀμφέχανε στνγερή, ἥπερ λάχε γενεόμενον περ.

Il. xvi. 687: κῆρα κακῆν μέλανος θανάτοιο.

Il. ii. 834: κῆρες γὰρ ἄγον μέλανος θανάτοιο.

Od. xi. 171: τίς νύ σε κῆρ ἐδάμασσε ταυτηγλῆος θανάτοιο;

Hence κῆρ is sometimes used simply in the sense of death, as in *Il.* i. 228, ii. 352, iii. 32—a sense in which it is personified in *Il.* xviii. 535:

ἐν δ' Ἔρις, ἐν δὲ Κνδοίμῳς ὀμίλειον, ἐν δ' ἑλὸς Κῆρ.¹

Δαίμων has affinities with both Fortune and Fate.

Od. x. 64: πῶς ἦλθες, Ὀδυσσεύ; τίς τοι κακὸς ἔχραε δαίμων;

Od. xi. 61: ἀσέ με δαίμονος αἶσα κακῆ καὶ ἀθέσφατος οἶνος.

To derive it from δαῖναι in the sense of 'divide,' 'distribute,' brings it into line with the conceptions already treated of.

In the *Iliad* there are a number of expressions, such as ὑπὲρ μοῖραν (xx. 336), ὑπὲρ μῦθον (xx. 30, xxi. 517), ὑπέρμορα (ii. 155), ὑπὲρ αἶσαν (vi. 487, xvi. 780), καὶ ὑπὲρ Διὸς αἶσαν (xvii. 321), καὶ ὑπὲρ θεῶν (xvii. 327), which seem to imply that man could on occasions overpass Fate. But except in xvi. 780—

καὶ τότε δὴ ῥ' ὑπὲρ αἶσαν Ἀχαιοὶ φέρτεροι ἦσαν—

we are never told that he does overpass it. The rest of the passages are conditional, and some god always steps in in time to save the credit of Fate. The one passage, then, which runs counter to the rest may either be set down as hyperbolic or referred to the same range of thought as displays itself in the *Odyssey* (i. 32-36), where a sort of compromise is effected between Fate and free will. Some evils, we are led to suppose, come from the gods, whereas there are others which men bring upon themselves by their own infatuation—for instance, the death of Aegisthus. This is a sound judgment, to which common sense responds. There are sorrows against which no wisdom or virtue can guard, while there are others which are clearly traceable to one's own fault. But even in the *Iliad* the fatalism of the poet is not rigid, but admits of alternatives. Had Patroclus heeded the warning of Achilles, he would have escaped the evil fate (κῆρα) of black death (xvi. 685 ff.); and Achilles himself has an alternative destiny—death and immortal glory at Troy or an inglorious old age at home (ix. 410-416).

As men in the *Iliad* are often on the verge of transgressing Fate, so Zeus now and again entertains thoughts of setting it aside, but never actually does so. He sheds tears of blood over his own son Sarpedon (xvi. 431-461), but leaves him to his fate; he pities Hector, but does not save him (xxii. 168-185). The public opinion of the skies is against such an example. Fate is after all Διὸς αἶσα, and Zeus is true to himself. Even when he has been entrapped into an oath by Hera, he keeps it, though to his own cost (xix. 95-133). The general attitude of Zeus is shown by the impartial way in which he holds the scales of battle (viii. 69-74, xxii. 209-213), leaving the fates (αἰσιμον ἦμαρ) of the combatants to decide the matter by their own weight, the heavier to go down to Hades. Vergil has caught the Homeric spirit when he says (*Aen.* x. 112 f.):

'rex Jupiter omnibus idem.
Fata viam inveniunt.'

It was the metaphor of spinning the web of destiny to men at their birth which brought into being the mythological persons called the Μοῖραι. But the gods in Homer do the work of Fate themselves. Zeus does the spinning in *Od.* iv. 207 f.:

ᾧ τε Κρονίων
ἄλβον ἐπικλώσῃ γαμέοντί τε γεινομένῳ τε.

More often it is done by the gods generally, as in *Il.* xxiv. 525 f.:

ὡς γὰρ ἐπεκλώσαντο θεοὶ δειλοῖσι βροτοῖσιν
ζῶειν ἀχρυνμένοις,

and in *Od.* i. 17, iii. 208, viii. 579, xi. 139, xx. 196. In *Od.* xvi. 64, however, the gods are relieved of the task by δαίμων:

ὡς γὰρ οἱ ἐπέκλωσαν τὰ γὰρ δαίμων,

in *Il.* xx. 127 f. by Αἶσα:

ὑπτερον αὐτὲ τὰ πείσεται ἄσσα οἱ Αἶσα
γεινομένῳ ἐπένησε λίνῳ, ὅτε μιν τέκε μήτηρ,

and in *Il.* xxiv. 209 f. by Μοῖρα:

τῷ δ' ὡς ποθὶ Μοῖρα κραταίῃ
γεινομένῳ ἐπένησε λίνῳ, ὅτε μιν τεκον αὐτή.

We have only to pluralize this in order to get the Μοῖραι, and towards this we are helped by *Od.* vii. 196 f.:

ἐνθα δ' ἔπειτα
πείσεται ἄσσα οἱ αἶσα κατὰ κλώθες τε βαρεῖαι
γεινομένῳ νήσαντο λίνῳ, ὅτε μιν τέκε μήτηρ.

So far then Homer has brought us. There are stern spinning-women who spin to men their destiny at birth.

2. Hesiod, etc.—By the time of Hesiod these stern spinsters have been supplied with the appropriate names of Κλωθώ, Λάχεσις, and Ἄτροπος, having reference severally to the thread of life, to allotment, and to inevitability. It is now definitely their function to dispense good and ill to mortals at their birth; cf. *Theog.* 218 f.:

αἶτε βροτοῖσι
γεινομένοισι διδοῦσιν ἔχειν ἀγαθὸν τε κακὸν τε.

Thus Zeus is relieved of the great responsibility which we find imposed upon him in *Il.* xxiv. 527-532.

As the Fates have now become persons, we expect to hear of their genealogy. But the accounts are conflicting. When they are first introduced to us in the *Theogony* (211-219), we are told that they are the daughters of Night without a father. But on a second mention (901-906) we learn that they are the daughters of Zeus and Themis, and held in the highest honour by their wise-counselled sire. Plato, who is a prose-poet, makes them daughters of Necessity (*Rep.* 617 C). Cicero (*de Nat. Deor.* iii. § 44), following 'the old genealogists,' makes Night the mother of the *Parce*, but supplies them with a father in Erebus. According to the Orphic theogony, as represented in Athenagoras (18 B), Clotho, Lachesis, and Atropos were daughters of Heaven and Earth, and sisters of the hundred-handed giants and of the Cyclopes.

Hesiod (*Theog.* 215-222) mentions the Μοῖραι in such close connexion with the Κῆρες that what is said of one may be intended to apply to the other. Now what is said of the Κῆρες would serve for a description of the Furies:

αἱ τ' ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε παραιβασίας ἐφέπουσαι
οὐδέποτε λήγονσαι θεαὶ δεινοῖο χόλοιο,
πρὶν γ' ἀπὸ τῷ δώσωσι κακὴν ὅπιν, ὅς τις ἀμάρτη.

In this way a connexion might seem to be set up at starting between the Fates and the Furies; and it is worth noting that Pausanias (ii. 11. § 4) mentions incidentally how at Sicyon the same rites were paid to the Fates as to the Furies. There was a one day's festival every year with a sacrifice of sheep with young, a libation of mead, and flowers, but not garlands.

The fact that the Fates are essentially concerned with human life, and are naturally most prominent in connexion with its two great terms of birth and death, has led a modern writer (L. Schmidt) to the conjecture that there were at one time two Fates, not three—that Fate, in fact, passed through the numbers of singular, dual, and plural. But the passages from late authors by which this conjecture is supported do not seem to justify it. Thus Pausanias (x. 24. § 4) mentions that in the shrine at Delphi there stood two statues of Μοῖραι, but he immediately adds: 'and instead of the third of them there stood by them Zeus

¹ The line occurs also in Hes. Sc. 156 with ἐθύνειον for ὀμίλειον.

Moiragetes¹ and Apollo Moiragetes.² Again, in Plutarch (*Mor.* 474 B, *Tranq. An.* 15), where *δίτταλ τινες* . . . *μοῖραι καὶ δαίμονες* are spoken of, the context shows that the reference is not to the Fates proper at all, but to the Good and Evil Dæmon. The same author says (*Mor.* 385 C, *de ei apud Delph.* 2) that the two Fates at Delphi were intended to awake inquiry, since three were everywhere usual (*πανταχοῦ τριῶν νομιζόμενων*). That the Fates should figure among birth-goddesses is only what might be expected. Pindar (*Ol.* vi. 71) couples the *Μοῖραι* with Eleutho (= *Εἰλεθνια*) at the birth of Iamus, and addresses *Εἰλεθνια* as 'assessor of the deep-minded *Μοῖραι*' (*Nem.* vii. 1), while Euripides bestows upon the *Μοῖραι* the epithet of *λόχραι* (*Iph. Taur.* 206), and Plato in his poetical work speaks of *Μοῖρα* and *Εἰλεθνια* in the same breath (*Symp.* 206 D); an early poet of Delos, too, gave to *Εἰλεθνια* the epithet of *εὐλινος*, indicating thereby her identity with Fate (*δῆλον ὡς τῇ Περπωμένη τὴν αὐτήν*), and declared that she was older than Kronos (Paus. viii. 21. § 2).

Pindar has *Μοῖρα* in the singular (*Nem.* vii. 84) and in the plural (*Ol.* xi. 65, *Pyth.* iv. 259, *Isth.* v. 25); also *θεοὶ Μοῖρα* (*Ol.* ii. 37); he has two mentions of Clotho (*Ol.* i. 40, *Isth.* v. 25), one of Lachesis (*Ol.* vii. 118), but none of Atropos, though he speaks of 'Κλωθώ and her sister *Μοῖραι*'; he also enriches the vocabulary of Fate with some new expressions, such as *αἰὼν μόρσιμος* (*Ol.* ii. 20), *μοιρίδιον ἄμαρ* (*Pyth.* iv. 454), *μόρμος νῆος* (*Ol.* ii. 70, of *Cēdipus*), and lays down broadly *τό γε μόρσιμον οὐ παρφυκτόν* (*Pyth.* xii. 52).

3. The Greek tragedians, etc.—This gnome might be taken as the key-note of Greek Tragedy. Quite apart from the curse of inherited sin, as in the house of Pelops, man is represented in the Tragedians as the victim of some awful, unseem power, which foredooms him to disaster. It has been said that there is less of this in Euripides than in *Æschylus* or *Sophocles*. But it is from the *Orestes* of Euripides (976-981) that we take the following lines:

'Ye tear-drown'd, toiling tribes,
Whose life is but a span,
Behold how Fate, or soon or late,
Upsets the hopes of man!
In sorrow still your changing state
Must end as it began.'

'Pray not at all,' says the chorus in *Sophocles' Antigone* (1337 f.) to Creon, 'since there is no release for mortals from predestined calamity.' Greek Tragedy is believed by many to culminate in the *Cēdipus Tyrannus*, and there, too, the idea of Fate attains its zenith. *Cēdipus* is like a fly in a spider's web; the more he struggles to escape, the faster does Fate entangle him. 'Awful,' says *Sophocles* (*Ant.* 951), 'is the mysterious power of Fate.' It is perhaps a sense of this awfulness that makes the Tragedians, though they speak sometimes of 'Fates' in the plural, refrain from using the proper names of the goddesses. The thing with them is too serious for mythology. They were studying life as they found it, in the same spirit as that in which we study the laws of Nature.²

In the *Prometheus Vincit* it is darkly hinted that Zeus himself is subject to Destiny, and that *Prometheus* knows a secret of Fate which will eventually effect his deliverance (511-525). In *Æschylus* the connexion between the Fates and the Furies comes out strongly. 'Who then,' asks the chorus, 'turns the rudder of Necessity?' to which the answer is (*ib.* 516):

Μοῖραι τριμόρφοι μνήμονες τ' Ἐρινύες.

¹ On this title of Zeus, see Paus. v. 15. § 4, viii. 37. § 1. At Megara there was a statue, made partly by Phidias, with the *Μοῖραι* above the head of Zeus, on which Pausanias (i. 40. § 3) remarks: *δὴα δὲ πᾶσι τὴν περπωμένη μύθη οἱ πείθεσθαι*.

² For this remark the writer is indebted to Professor E. A. Sponenchein.

And again in the *Eumenides* (962) the *Μοῖραι* are addressed as *μητροκασινῆραι* of the Furies—doubtless with reference to the account in *Hesiod* of both triplets being the unfathered offspring of Night. The metaphor from spinning, which is rare in the Tragedians, occurs in *Eumen.* 335 in connexion with *Μοῖρα*.

The belief in oracles is assailed by Euripides, though in such a way as to 'save the face' of Loxias.

El. 399 f.: Λοξίων γὰρ ἔμπεδοι
χρησμοί, βροτῶν δὲ μαντικὴν χαίρειν ἰῶ.

The logical tendency of this would be to upset the belief in Fate, which is so intimately connected with prediction. But, as a matter of fact, Euripides, like the other tragedians, is permeated through and through with a belief in Fate. Take, for instance,

Rhesus 634 f.: οὐκ ἂν δύναιτο τοῦ περπωμένου πλέον.
τοῦτον δὲ πρὸς σῆς χειρὸς οὐ θέμις θανεῖν.

Herac. 615: μόρσιμα δ' οὐτι φυγεῖν θέμις.

Herc. Fur. 311: ὁ χρὴ γὰρ οὐδεὶς μὴ χρεῶν θήσει ποτέ.

Iph. Taur. 1486: τὸ γὰρ χρεῶν σου τε καὶ θεῶν κρατεῖ.

In *Æschylus* (*Prom. Vinc.* 936) and in the *Rhesus*, which the present writer believes to be the work of Euripides, a new power, bearing a close resemblance to Fate, makes its appearance upon the scene. This power is 'Αδράστεια. She is by some identified with Nemesis, in agreement with which it is the custom to propitiate her before dangerous utterances (Plato, *Rep.* 451 A; Eur. *Rh.* 342, 468), while others regard *Adrasteia* as another name for Atropos (Schol. ad Plato, *Rep.* 451 A), and the philosophers frankly identify her with Fate in general (Plato, *Phædr.* 248 C; Ar. *Mund.* vii. 5; Stob. *Ecl.* i. 188). According to Callisthenes (Strabo, xiii. 588), the name is due to the accident that the first statue of Nemesis was set up by Adrastus; but the more usual derivation is perhaps the true one, which takes the name to indicate the impossibility of escape from the goddess (*ὅτι περ οὐκ ἂν τις αὐτὴν ἀποδράσειεν*, Schol. on *Rep.* 451 A).

Nemesis, herself a goddess of distribution (*νεμ-*), is akin to *Μοῖρα* (*μερ-*), and has at the same time affinities with Fortune, who has managed to appropriate her wheel (see FORTUNE [Gr.]). Herodotus, with his notion of 'a jealous god' (iii. 40), is full of the idea of some power which brings disaster upon men, not because they are wicked, but simply because they are fortunate, like Polycrates, or because, like Cræsus, they think themselves so (i. 34). In Herodotus (i. 91) we find a strong assertion of the omnipotence of Fate, where the Pythia declares to Cræsus that it is 'impossible even for a god to escape destiny' (*τὴν περπωμένην μοῖραν ἀδύνατό ἐστι ἀποφυγεῖν καὶ θεῶν*). Yet, even so, there is a certain amount of elasticity allowed to Fate, for Loxias claims that he had induced the *Μοῖραι* to postpone the fall of Sardis for three years. How different is this theologian's acquaintance with the hand of God in history from the calm positivism of Thucydides! And how strongly does his ready belief in oracles (viii. 77, 96) stand contrasted with the sceptical remarks of the later historian (Thuc. ii. 54) as to the way in which predictions get accommodated to current events!

The phrase used by Demosthenes in a famous passage of the *de Corona* (p. 296, § 205)—*τὸν τῆς ἐμαρμένης καὶ τὸν αὐτόματον θάνατον*—indicates the same mental attitude as that of the author of the *Odyssey*, in distinguishing between things which are due to Destiny and those which come about through man's free agency: 'He who regards himself as born only for his parents,' says the orator, 'awaits his appointed and natural end,' whereas he who thinks that he is born also for his country will die rather than see her enslaved. Cicero, in an equally famous utterance (*Phil.* i. § 10), has an echo of this, or of the *ὑπὲρ μόρον* of the *Odyssey*

(i. 34 f.), where he says: 'Multa autem impendere videntur praeter naturam etiam praeterque fatum.' Vergil, too, has the same idea when he speaks of Dido's death (*Aen.* iv. 696):

'Nam quia nec fato merita nec morte peribat.'

In the view of all three writers there is a course of destiny, which may yet be infringed by man, either in the way of glorious self-sacrifice or of murder or suicide.

4. Roman writers.—The Romans add but little to the mythology of Fate. Their own birth-goddesses, of whom one was Parca, were identified under the generic name of *Parcae* with the three *Μοῖραι* of the Greeks. Varro seems to be right for once in deriving Parca (Parica) from *pario*. The name Morta used by Livius Andronicus in his *Odyssey* must surely be connected with *mors*, which makes it look as though Cæsilius Vindex were right, as against his critic, Aulus Gellius, in taking Morta as the proper name of one Fate, not the generic name of all. Varro, however, gives the Roman names as Parca, Nona, and Decima, in which the allusion to birth is obvious (*Aul. Gell.* iii. 16, §§ 9–11). The threeness of the Roman goddesses may be due merely to their assimilation to the *Μοῖραι*.

The symbolism of spinning is used by Tibullus (i. viii. 1):

'Hunc cednere diem Parcae fatalia nentes
Stamina, non ulli dissoluenda deo,'

by Propertius (iv. vii. 51):

'Iuro ego Fatorum nulli revolvibile stamen,'

and by Ovid (*ad Liv.* 239 f.):

'Quondam ego tentavi Clothoque, duasque sorores,
Pollice quas certo pensa severa trahunt.'

It was reserved for the abundant genius of the last-named poet to contribute to poetic thought the following fine picture of the archives of Fate (*Met.* xv. 808–814):

'Intres licet ipsa Sororum
Tecta trium, cernes illic molimine vasto
Ex aera, et solido rerum tabularia ferro;
Quae nequus concursus coeli, nequus fulminis iram,
Nec metuunt ullas tuta atque aeterna ruinas.
Invenies illic incisa adamante psrenni
Fata tui generis.'

5. The philosophers.—We turn now to the treatment of Fate by the philosophers, with whom the great name for it is *ἡ εἰμαρμένη*. Modern grammarians treat *εἰμαρμαι* as an irregular perfect of *μειρομαι* (= *σέρομαι*); but to the ancient philosophers the word was suggestive rather of *εἰρημός* (= 'series'), as appears from their definitions.

Heraclitus, whose floruit is put at about 503 B.C., is supposed to have been the first to employ the term *εἰμαρμένη*. All things, we are told, took place, according to that philosopher, *καθ' εἰμαρμένην*.¹ It was further explained by him, if we may trust Stobæus (*Ecl.* i. 178), that the essence of Fate was Reason (*λόγος*), which pervaded the substance of the universe. Here we have the subsequent doctrine of the Stoics complete already, if it has not been read into the earlier thinker.

It is in his character of poet rather than as a philosopher that Plato speaks of Fate. Into the symbolism of the Vision of Er we need not enter further than to note that Lachesis is treated as the eldest of the Fates, since Lachesis stands for the past, Clotho for the present, and Atropos for the future (*Rep.* 617 C; cf. *Laws*, 960 C; in the Peripatetic *de Mundo*, Atropos stands for the past, and Lachesis for the future). Everywhere Plato takes for granted that there is a predetermined order of destiny, especially in relation to human affairs, without specifying by whom or what it has been determined.² In *Phædo* (115 A), Plato makes Socrates in his last moments allude playfully to

¹ Diog. Laert. ix. § 7: *πάντα τε γίνεσθαι καθ' εἰμαρμένην*. See frag. lxiii. in Bywater.

² The following are some of the passages in which the idea of Fate comes in: *Phædo*, 113 A; *Phædr.* 265 B; *Prot.* 320 D; *Rep.* 566 A; *Menez.* 243 E.

the prominence of Fate in Tragedy—*ἐμὲ δὲ νῦν ἥδη καλεῖ, φάη ἄν ἀνὴρ τραγικός, ἡ εἰμαρμένη*. In *Gorg.* (512 E) his language leads us to think that submission to Fate was a sentiment peculiarly prevalent among women—*πιστεύσαντα ταῖς γυναῖξιν, ὅτι τὴν εἰμαρμένην οὐδ' ἂν εἰς ἐκφύγοι*. In the bold myth of the *Politicus* he identifies *εἰμαρμένη* with the 'connatural desire' of the universe, when left by God to its own devices. This is a new light upon the subject altogether.

It is with the Stoics that the interest in Fate really begins. Heraclitus was before his time, and we do not know exactly what he said. Zeno identified Fate (*εἰμαρμένη*) with Providence (*πρόνοια*) and Nature (*φύσις*).¹ Chrysippus said that 'the essence of Fate is a spiritual power (*δύναμις πνευματικήν*) arranging the whole in order.' He declared also that Fate is the reason of the universe.²

The unwary reader must not be deceived by Chrysippus' speaking of Fate as a 'spiritual' power. We mean by *spirit* something that is not matter; the Stoics meant by it something that is matter. Augustine uses *spiritus vitæ* to express 'spirit' in our sense³—that something, itself increate, which creates all things.

Posidonius made Fate third from Zeus, Nature being intermediate between them (*Stob. Ecl.* i. 178). Antipater said simply that Fate was God.

With regard to this last view, Augustine, who dislikes the word 'Fate' because of the connexion that had been established by his time between it and astrology, says, if any one means by Fate the will or power of God, 'sententiam teneat, linguam corrigat' (*de Civ. Dei*, v. 1).

Pope's 'Universal Prayer' is instinct with the spirit of Stoicism:

'Yet gave me in this dark estate
To see the good from ill;
And binding Nature fast in Fate,
Left free the human will.'

That is the position on which Epictetus is always insisting. God's will is certain to come about, whether we wish it or not. What is in our power is to make ourselves happy by a cheerful assent to it, or miserable by a futile resistance. There is no doubt that the Stoics held this position. How they made it good by argument it is not very easy to see. But Chrysippus, who was the brain of Stoicism, seems to have reasoned in this way. Everything has its antecedent causes; but we must distinguish between two kinds of causes: (1) those which are complete and primary, or, in one word, efficient; and (2) those which are adjuvant and proximate. If all causes were of the first kind, there would be no room anywhere for freedom; but, as some are of the second, there is. Sense cannot be stirred except by an object striking it; but the causes here are of the latter kind, and do not affect freedom. Assent lies with ourselves. If a man gives a kick to a cylindrical stone, he sets it rolling; but it goes on rolling because of its own nature. Bad minds, according to Chrysippus, rush into errors voluntarily; and it is part of the order of Fate that they should do so, as being a natural consequence of their badness (*Cic. de Fato*, §§ 41–43; *Aul. Gell.* vii. 2). This does not sound very satisfactory as a vindication of the freedom of the will. Cicero, who had the works of Chrysippus before him, and who was a good judge, did not think that he had made out his case. Neither did he think Epicurus successful, who, in order to leave room in the universe for free will, had recourse to the hypothesis of a slight deviation from the perpendicular on the part of single atoms.

Cicero himself, in his fragmentary *de Fato*, follows Carneades and the New Academy in denying Fate altogether. If there were no such thing as Fate, things would still happen as they do. Nature and Chance are enough to account for them. The

¹ *Stob. Ecl.* i. 178.

² *εἰμαρμένη ἐστὶν ὁ τοῦ κόσμου λόγος* (*Stob. Ecl.* i. 180).

³ *de Civ. Dei*, v. 9: 'Nam et aer iste seu ventus, dicitur spiritus: sed quoniam coruscus est, non est spiritus vitæ.'

stone which fell in a cavern on the leg of a brigand Icadus (the reference is to a story told by Posidonius) would have fallen whether Icadus was there or not. But in this case, says Cicero, there is no Fate, because there is no prediction (*de Fato*, § 5)—a remark which brings us to the heart of the matter. For prediction is the stronghold of Fate. Free will is destroyed, says Cicero, if there be such a thing as divination (§ 11). This is an argument which has great power over many minds, but is nevertheless, fallacious. For present knowledge by another of a man's actions is no interference with his freedom. If, then, it be possible for a human being to transcend the conditions of time, and to project himself, or be projected, into the future, he may see what one is freely doing then, just as we see what others are freely doing now. Of course, it may be denied that this is possible; but it cannot be denied that, if it is possible, it renders prediction compatible with free will.

The Stoic belief in Fate as a continuous chain of causation is Determinism, not Fatalism. Fatalism is the belief that a definite event will take place, whatever happens—which is as much a denial of causation as is a theory of pure chance.

See also the 'Greek' and 'Roman' artt. on FORTUNE.

LITERATURE.—Cicero, *de Fato*; Stobæus, *Ecl.* i. 152-192; Aulus Gellius, viii. i. and ii.; L. Schmidt, art. 'Moiræ,' in Smith's *Dict. of Gr. and Rom. Biog. and Mythol.*, Lond. 1864-67.

ST. GEORGE STOCK.

FATE (Hindu).—The Skr. language has various equivalents for what we call fate, such as, *e.g.*, *kāla*, lit. 'time,' as leading to events the causes of which are imperceptible to the mind of man; *vidhi*, 'ordinance,' 'rule'; *daiva*, 'divine,' 'celestial,' 'divine power or will,' 'destiny,' 'fate,' 'chance'; *adr̥ṣṭa*, 'what is not seen,' *i.e.* that which is beyond the reach of observation or consciousness, the acts done by each soul in former bodies, which acts exert upon that soul an irresistible power called *adr̥ṣṭa*, because felt and not seen; *karman* (*karma*), work done in a former existence and leading to inevitable results, fate. *Kāla*, 'time,' is perhaps the earliest of these terms, occurring, as it does, in hymns of the *Atharvaveda* (xix. 53) on the power and Divine nature of Time, which is akin to Destiny or Divine Ordinance. 'It is he who drew forth the worlds and encompassed them. Being their father, he became their son. There is no other power superior to him.' In a subsequent period, *Kāla* was sometimes identified with Yama, the judge of the dead, or represented, together with Mṛtyu, 'Death,' as a follower of Yama, or invoked as one of the forms of the god Śiva. The *Mahābhārata*, the great epic of India, contains various tales tending to illustrate the relative importance of the various agencies of which Fate may be said to be composed, none perhaps finer than the apologue of the snake (xiii. 1), relating how a boy was killed by a snake, and the snake, after having been caught by a hunter, was released by the boy's mother on the ground of her loss being due to Fate alone.

First, the snake declares its innocents of the boy's death, Mṛtyu, the god of death, having used the snake as an instrument. Thereupon Mṛtyu himself makes his appearance and exonerates himself, asserting that *Kāla*, 'Time,' has in reality killed the boy. 'Guided by *Kāla*, I, O serpent, sent thee on this errand. All creatures, mobile or immobile, in heaven or earth, are pervaded by this same inspiration of *Kāla*. The whole universe is imbued with the same influence of *Kāla*.' But *Kāla* in his turn explains that neither Mṛtyu, nor the serpent, nor he himself is guilty of the death of any creature. 'The child has met with death as the result of its *karma* in the past. We all are subject to the influence of our respective *karma*. As men make from a lump of clay whatever they wish to make, even so do men attain to various results determined by *karma*. As light and shadow are related to each other, so are men related to *karma* through their own actions. Therefore, neither art thou, nor am I, nor is Mṛtyu, nor the serpent, nor this old Brahman lady, the cause of the child's death. He himself is the

cause here.' On *Kāla* expounding the matter in this way, the child's mother became consoled, and asked the fowler to release the snake.

The conception of *karma* is closely connected with the celebrated Indian theory of transmigration or metempsychosis, which pervades all post Vedic religious and philosophical systems of India, and has continued down to the present day to exercise a powerful sway over the popular mind. As observed by Burn (in *General Report of the Census of India*, Calcutta, 1903, p. 364), it is a mistake to suppose that the ordinary Hindu peasant has practically no belief in the doctrine of transmigration. 'The doctrine of Karma is one of the firmest beliefs of all classes of Hindus, and the fear that a man shall reap as he has sown is an appreciable element in the average morality.' It is only in S. India, according to Stuart (*ib.* p. 264), that the influence of Animism is prevalent, the villager's real worship being 'paid to Māriamman, the dread goddess of smallpox and cholera, and to the special goddess of the village'; and misfortunes are regarded as the work of evil spirits or devils who must be propitiated. In the same way, a native observer, G. Sarkar, in his well-known work, *Hindu Law*, points out that the doctrine of *adr̥ṣṭa*, the mysterious but irresistible power of the acts done in previous lives, is universally held by the Hindus as a fundamental article of faith.

'*Adr̥ṣṭa*, or the invisible dual force, is the resultant of all good and bad deeds, of all meritorious and demeritorious acts and omissions, done by a person in all past forms of existence and also in the present life, and it is this *adr̥ṣṭa* which determines the condition of every soul, *i.e.* is the cause of his happiness or misery; the state of a living being depends on his own past conduct' (G. Sarkar, *Hindu Law*², Calcutta, 1903, p. 230).

And so it is stated by Deussen in his *History of Philosophy* that the doctrine of metempsychosis has governed the Indian mind from the epoch of the Upaniṣads down to the present time, and is still of eminent practical importance, as affording a popular explanation of the cause of human suffering and operating as a spur to moral conduct. He quotes a blind Indian Pandit, whom he met in his travels through India, as replying to a question put to him concerning the cause of his deficiency in vision, that it must be due to some fault committed by himself during a previous existence (Deussen, *Allgemeine Geschichte der Philosophie*, vol. i. pt. ii. p. 282).

Historically speaking, the belief in metempsychosis and the lasting effects of *karma*, or action, as determining the fate of man, makes its first appearance in one of the Brāhmaṇas, and, in a more developed form, in the Upaniṣads. These philosophical treatises preach a strict determinism, except in so far as a man, by recognizing his identity with the eternally free *Ātman*, may be released from the bondage of *karma*. The germs of this theory, as supposed by Oldenberg, may be much older; and it has been shown by Schrader, in his suggestive little book, *Die Indogermanen* (Leipzig, 1911, p. 148), that the earliest Indo-European conception of Fate is that of a share inherited from the mother at the time of birth; the Roman *Parca* (from *pario*), equally with the Greek *Εὐχθία* and the Slav. *Rozdanicya*, being Fate Mothers (*Schicksalsmütter*) assisting at every birth.

From Brāhmanism the theory of *karma* passed into Buddhism, and became one of Buddha's leading tenets.

'When a man dies, the khandhas [elements] of which he is constituted perish, but by the force of his Karma [*Karma*] a new set of khandhas instantly starts into existence, and a new being appears in another world, who, though possessing different khandhas and a different form, is in reality identical with the man just passed away, because his Karma is the same. Karma, then, is the link that preserves the identity of a being through all the countless changes which it undergoes in its progress through Saṃsāra' (Childers, *Dict. of the Pali Lang.*, London, 1875, p. 198).

Jainism, the rival religion of Buddhism, agrees

in this respect with the latter. There existed in ancient times a large number of philosophical systems, belonging to two principal classes—one asserting the existence of free will, moral responsibility, and transmigration; and the other negating the same. Both Jina and Buddha belonged to the former class. They believed in transmigration, the annihilation of which was the final aim which they had in view (Pischel). According to the Jaina doctrine, the deeds performed in the bodies by the souls are *karma*, merit, and sin. This drives them, when one body has passed away, into another whose quality depends on the character of the *karma*. Virtue leads to the heavens of the gods, or to birth among men in pure and noble races. Sin consigns the souls to the lower regions, sends them into the bodies of animals or plants, or even into masses of lifeless matter. The addition of new *karma* can be prevented by right faith, strict control of the senses, and austerities on which the Jainas lay special stress (Bühler).

Of modern Hindu sects, the Sikhs may perhaps be said to be the most fatalistic of all. They agree with the adherents of other systems in explaining the glaring difference between riches and poverty, honour and dishonour, by the acts in a former life determining the present condition and circumstances of a person. But they go very far in denying the liberty of human action, everything being subject to the decree of Fate, and the future lot of a person written on his forehead. These ideas have struck root very generally among the Sikhs, who, therefore, are far more rigid fatalists than even the Muhammadans. The *karma* theory occupies the same place in the Sikh religion as elsewhere, and the highest goal of the Sikh is not paradise, but the cessation of re-birth and existence (Trumpp, Macauliffe).

To return to Brāhmanism, it should be observed that the rigid determinism of its view of *karma* is frequently mitigated by admitting the modifying and controlling influence exercised on Fate by human exertion. Thus the *Anuśāsana Parvan* of the *Mahābhārata* contains the fine discourse on human effort (*puruṣakāra*), in which the relative importance of fate (*daiva*) and human acts is discussed.

'As, unsown with seed, the soil, though tilled, becomes fruitless, eo, without individual exertion, Destiny is of no avail. One's own acts are like the soil, and Destiny (or the sum of one's acts in previous births) is compared to the seed. From the union of the soil and the seed doth the harvest grow. It is observed every day in the world that the doer reaps the fruit of his good and evil deeds. Happiness results from good deeds, and pain from evil ones. Acts, when done, always fructify, but, if not done, no fruit arises. By devoted application (or by austerity) one acquires beauty, fortune, and riches of various kinds. Everything can be secured by exertion, but nothing can be gained through Destiny (*daiva*) alone, by a man wanting in personal exertion' (*Mahābhārata*, xxi. vi. 7-12).

And so it is stated in the *Vana Parvan* that

'those persons in the world who believe in Destiny, and those again who believe in Chance, are both the worst among men. Those only that believe in the efficacy of acts are laudable. He that lies at ease, believing in Destiny alone, is soon destroyed like an unburnt earthen pot in water. So also he that believeth in Chance, i.e. sitteth inactive though capable of activity, liveth not long, for his life is one of weakness and helplessness' (*ib.* xxxii. 13-15).

It is also declared in the *Mahābhārata* that only eunuchs worship Fate (*daiva*). In other places, the paramount power of Destiny is upheld, and it is clear that the comparative weight of free will and fate must have furnished a fruitful theme for discussion to these Brāhman theorists.

The part played by Fate in the ordinary relations of human life, according to Hindu notions, may best be gathered perhaps from the view which the Indian jurists take of Fate or Chance (*daiva*). Thus, it is a well-known rule in Indian law that a depositary is not responsible for such damage as may have occurred to a chattel deposited with him by the act of Fate (*daiva*) or of the king, Fate being

explained to include ravages caused by fire or water, the falling down of a wall, decay through the lapse of time, an attack by robbers or by inimical forces, and other events of a similar nature corresponding exactly to what is called *vis maior* in Roman law. If, therefore, a deposit should have been destroyed by the act of Fate or of the king, together with the depositary's own goods, he shall not be compelled to restore it. The same rule recurs in the recently discovered *Arthashastra*, in the 'Chapter on Deposits,' where it is ordained that a deposit shall not be reclaimed whenever forts or country parts are destroyed by enemies or hill tribes, or villages, caravans, or herds of cattle are attacked, or the whole kingdom destroyed; whenever extensive fires or floods bring about entire destruction of a village or partly destroy immoveable or even moveable properties, owing to the sudden spread of fire or rush of floods; and whenever a ship (laden with commodities) is either sunk or plundered by pirates. A loss caused by Fate is also not chargeable to a carrier transporting certain goods and losing part of them; or to a herdsman neglecting his cattle, after having been struck by lightning, bitten or killed by a snake, alligator, tiger, or other noxious animal, seized with disease, or the victim of an accident; or to one particular partner, when the property of the partnership has been injured through Fate or a gang of robbers, etc.

It is interesting also to examine the references to Fate in medical Sanskrit literature. Thus in *Suśruta's* system of medicine a certain class of diseases is attributed to the act of Fate (*daivabala*), as having been caused by Divine wrath, or by the mystic potencies of charms or spells, or by contagion. Sudden paroxysms of fever and sudden death or paralysis caused by lightning are quoted as instances of such diseases. There was, besides, a popular belief, originating in the doctrine of *karmapāka*, or ripening of acts, according to which certain aggravating diseases and infirmities were supposed to be due to some offence committed in a previous existence, leprosy, e.g., being regarded as the result of a heinous crime perpetrated in a former life; blindness, dumbness, and lameness as being the consequence, respectively, of killing a cow, cursing a Brāhman, and stealing a horse; stinking breath as being caused by uttering calumnies; an incurable illness as due to injuring a person; epilepsy as the result of usurious practices, etc. This popular superstition was sanctioned by the medical writers of India, who seriously register crimes committed in a former existence among the regular causes of leprosy, and prescribe certain religious ceremonies among the remedies to be used for curing this disease. It is also believed that, when a person dies of leprosy, he will be affected with it in the next life, unless he performs a certain penance, consisting of abstinence for a day, shaving the whole hair of the head, and presenting a certain number of cowries and other articles to Brāhmins, who offer certain prayers, and to whom the person confesses his sins. This ceremony is performed before entering on the treatment of any supposed dangerous disease (T. A. Wise, *Commentary on the Hindu System of Medicine*, London, 1860, p. 258).

The notions of Sanskrit writers regarding the nature and working of Fate may be further illustrated by some miscellaneous sayings collected from their compositions.

'The accomplishment of an object is divided between Fate and exertion. Of these, the Fate is the manifestation of one's acts in former life. Some expect success from Fate, some from accident, some from the lapse of time, and some from effort. Men of genius believe in the efficacy of the combination of all these. As a chariot cannot be put into motion with a single wheel, so does Fate not succeed without exertion' (*Yājñavalkya-*

amrti, i. 348-350, tr. Maudlik). 'Success in every enterprise depends on Destiny and human acts: the acts of Destiny are out of man's control. Think not on Destiny, but act thyself' (*Manusmṛti*, vii. 205, tr. M. Williams). 'Fate I consider paramount, human effort is futile. Everything is governed by Fate; Fate is the final resort' (*Rāmāyaṇa*, i. viii. 22). 'Fate binds a man with adamant cords, and drags him upwards to the highest rank, or downward to the depths of misery' (*ib.* vii. xxxvii. 3, tr. M. Williams). 'Banish all thought of Destiny, and act with manly vigour, straining all thy nerve. When thou hast put forth all thy energy, the blame of failure will not rest with thee' (*Hilopadeśa*, Introd. 31, tr. M. Williams).

'What though we climb to Meru's peak, soar bird-like through the sky,

Grow rich by trade, or till the ground, or art and science ply,
Or vanquish all our earthly foes, we yield to Fate's decree,
Whate'er she wills can ne'er take place, whate'er she wills must be' (*Bhārṭṛhari*, tr. Tawney, Calcutta, 1877, p. 40).

'As a man puts on new clothes in this world, throwing away those which he formerly wore, even so the self of man puts on new bodies, which are in accordance with his acts in a former life' (*Vīṣṇusmṛti*, xx. 50, tr. Jolly).

LITERATURE.—Monier-Williams, *Brahmanism and Hinduism*⁴, London, 1891; A. Barth, *The Religions of India*⁵, do. 1891; P. Deussen, *Allgem. Gesch. der Philosophie*, vol. i.-iii., Leipzig, 1894-1908, also *Vier philos. Texte des Mahābhārata*, do. 1908; E. W. Hopkins, *The Great Epic of India*, London, 1901; H. Kern, *Manual of Indian Buddhism*, Strassburg, 1896 (= *GIAP* iii. 8); R. Pischel, *Leben und Lehre des Buddha*, Leipzig, 1908; Bühler-Burgess, *The Indian Sect of the Jains*, London, 1905; O. Böhtlingk, *Ind. Sprüche*², St. Petersburg, 1870-73 (cf. A. Blau's *Index* to this collection, Leipzig, 1893, s.v. 'Schicksal').

J. JOLLY.

FATE (Iranian).—The Gāthās attribute foreknowledge to Ahura Mazda (*Yasna* xxix. 4, xlv. 2, 6, 9-11, 13-19, xlviii. 2), which is also implied in the whole Iranian scheme of the Ages of the World (*q.v.*). Foreordination, however, scarcely developed in Zoroastrian thought, except in a minor infralapsarian sense, until a comparatively late period. Practically the only Avesta passage which is directly fatalistic in its teaching is *Vend.* v. 8, which states that a man apparently drowned is really carried away by demons, and that 'there, then, Fate is fulfilled, there it is completed' (*athra adhāt frajasaiti baxta adhāt nijasaiti*).

In genuine Zoroastrianism fatalism has no place, for the entire spirit generated by the long struggle which each man must help Ahura Mazda to wage against Ahriman and every other power of evil militates against a concept which—whatever its alleged justification—has, as a matter of history, sapped the energy of every people that has held it. And yet fatalism came to be an important doctrine of later Zoroastrianism. What was the source of this new factor—philosophical speculation, the malign influence of Babylonian astrology, the crushing of the national spirit by the foreign dominion under which the Zoroastrians passed, or a combination of all three—it is not easy to tell; yet there is at least a curious and suggestive analogy between the rise of fatalism in Iran and that of *karma* (*q.v.*) in India, which seems to have been evolved from a combination of philosophical speculation with the religious beliefs of the aborigines of India.

The *Đinkart* (iii. 77, tr. Sanjana, Bombay, 1874 ff., p. 85) teaches a qualified free will when it says:

'It is through the power and the assistance of the Ijads (angels) that man knows the Holy Self-existent (Ahura Mazda), fights with the Darūjs (demons) and delivers his body and soul from them, and possesses the power of managing the other creation of this world. Under the design of the Creator, man is born, and has the power to direct himself, under the superintendence of the Ijads. The abods (in man) of the evil qualities of the evil passions is for the purpose of obstructing heavenly wisdom and for contriving to plunge man into sin.'

Within the sphere of orthodox Zoroastrianism, fatalism comes to the front chiefly in two Pahlavi works—the 9th cent. *Dātistān-i Dīnik* (*DD*), and the *Dīnā-i Mainōg-i Xrat* (*MX*) of uncertain date, but probably before the Arab conquest, and possibly in the reign of Chosroës I. (531-579 [*MX*, ed. Sanjana, Bombay, 1895, p. vii f.]). According to *DD* lxxi. 3-5,

'there are some things through destiny, and there are some through action; and it is thus fully decided by them [the

high priests] that life, wife, and child, authority and wealth are through destiny, and the righteousness and wickedness of priesthood, warfare, and husbandry are through action. And this, too, is thus said by them, that that which is not destined for a man in the world does not happen; and that which is destined, be it owing to exertion, will come forward, be it through sinfulness or slothfulness, he is injured by it. That which will come forward owing to exertion is such as his who goes to a meeting of happiness, or the sickness of a mortal who, owing to sickness, dies early; and he who through sinfulness and slothfulness is thereby injured is such as he who would wed no wife, and is certain that no child of his is born, or such as he who gives his body unto slaughter, and life is injured by his living.'

Some colour is lent by *MX* viii. 17 to the view which the present writer, like Cumont (*Mysteries of Mithra*, tr. McCormack, Chicago, 1903, p. 124 f.), is inclined to favour, that Zoroastrian fatalism is borrowed, in the main, from Babylonian astrology, when it declares that 'every good and the reverse which happen to mankind, and also the other creatures, happen through the seven planets and the twelve constellations.' It is useless to strive against fate, for, according to *MX* xxiii. 5-9,

'when predestination as to virtue, or as to the reverse, comes forth, the wise becomes wanting in duty, and the astute in evil becomes intelligent; the faint-hearted becomes braver, and the braver becomes faint-hearted; the diligent becomes lazy, and the lazy acts diligently. Just as is predestined as to the matter, the cause enters into it, and thrusts out everything else.' In short, destiny (*baxt*) is 'predominant over every one and everything' (*MX* xlvii. 7; cf. also the polemic of Eznik, *Against the Sects*, tr. Schmid, Vienna, 1900, p. 121 ff.). There is, however, a sharp distinction in *MX* xxiv. 5-7 between destiny (*baxt*) and Divine providence (*bāk-baxt*): 'destiny is that which is ordained from the beginning, and Divine providence is that which they also grant otherwise,' and according to *Visp.* vii. 3 there is special Divine intervention (*baghō-baxta*) on behalf of Iranian warriors.

Yet it must be questioned whether the *MX* is, strictly speaking, orthodox, for in xxvii. 10 occur the significant words,

'The affairs of the world of every kind proceed through destiny (*brēh*) and time (*dāmānak*) and the supreme decree of the self-existent eternity (*zōrvān*), the king and long-continuing lord.'

This is strongly suggestive of the Zorvanite heresy (on which see SECTS [Zoroastrian]), according to which both Ahura Mazda and Ahriman are sprung from Zrvan Akarana ('Boundless Time'), who is mentioned as a Divinity in the Avesta itself (*Yasna* lxxii. 10; *Nyāis*, i. 8; *Vend.* xix. 13). That this belief existed long before the composition of the Pahlavi texts quoted above is shown by a citation from Theodore of Mopsuestia (*apud* Photius, *Bibl.* lxxxi.), on the authority of an Armenian chorepiscopus Mastubius, who regarded Zrvan as the author of all, and who called him Fate (*Ζαρούαμ, ὁ ἀρχηγὸν πάντων ἐστάγει ὁ καὶ τύχην καλεῖ*), while both the 5th cent. Armenian polemist Eznik (tr. Schmid, p. 119 ff.) and the Syriac writers (cf. Nöldeke, *Festgruss an Roth*, Stuttgart, 1893, pp. 34-38) make one of their main attacks on the Zoroastrian religion turn upon the fatalism of Zorvanism.¹ In similar fashion the Parsi 'Ulamā-i Islām (tr. Vullers, *Fragmente über die Reliq. des Zoroasters*, Bonn, 1831, pp. 44 f., 46) affirms that Time created Ahura Mazda, who created all good things, this being in direct opposition to the statement of Zāt-spāram (i. 24, tr. West, *SBE* v. 160) that Ahura Mazda was the creator of Time. The latter view is confirmed by a statement of a Persian *riwāyat* (ed. and tr. Spiegel, *Trad. Lit. der Parsen*, Vienna, 1860, p. 161 ff.), according to which Ahura Mazda also created Zrvan dareghō-x'adhāta ('long, self-ordained Time'), who differs in many regards from Zrvan Akarana (Spiegel, *Erän. Alterthumskunde*, ii. 4 ff.).

The fatalism of the Zoroastrians also appears in the numerous prophecies of future events (cf., for example, *Yātkār-i Zarīrān*, tr. Modi, Bombay, 1899, pp. 21 f., 29 f., where Jāmāsp prophesies to King Vištāspa the outcome of battle) and in the

¹ On the adoption of Zorvanism by Mithraism, see Cumont, *op. cit.* pp. 107, 148, and also his *Oriental Religions in Roman Paganism*, Eng. tr., Chicago, 1911, p. 160 f., where the co-operation of Bab. influence is again emphasized.

entire system of Persian divination (*q.v.*). In the Persian epic of the *Šāh-Nāmah* (tr. Mohl, Paris, 1876-1878) the power of Fate is also emphasized. Thus the Emperor of China declares (iii. 112) that 'no one will escape the rotation of heaven (*gardis-i āsmān*), even though he were able to overthrow an elephant,' and the poet makes a similar reflexion on the violent death of Yazdagird I. (v. 419); but here, as de Harlez observes (*Avesta . . . trad.*, Paris, 1881, p. lxxxvii), we no longer move in a Zoroastrian sphere.

LITERATURE.—F. Spiegel, *Erän. Alterthumskunde*, Leipzig, 1871-1878, ii. 7, 11, 14, note 2, *Avesta . . . übersetzt*, do. 1852-1863, ii. 219; L. C. Casartelli, *Phil. of the Mazdayasnian Relig. under the Sassanids*, tr. Asa, Bombay, 1889, pp. 9, 31-33, 86, 144, 148 f.; E. West, *Pahlavi Texts*, ii. iii. (SBĒ xviii. [1882], xxiv. [1885]).

LOUIS H. GRAY.

FATE (Jewish).—Based on the OT, which on the whole acknowledges freedom of choice, Judaism does not, and consistently cannot, hold the pagan doctrine of Fate. The subject never entered Jewish consciousness, and therefore there is not even a Heb. word in the OT corresponding to *μοῖρα* or *fatum*. *ph* is an engraved statute and hence a law of Nature, but not applied to human affairs. When, therefore, Josephus makes his countrymen state their theological differences in philosophical language and ascribes to the Pharisees a belief in a *ἐλαφρεύη* (*Ant.* XVIII. i. 3), he does not mean by it an inflexible power to which gods and men must bow, but has in his mind the late Heb. word *נָקֵד* (from *נָקַד*, 'to divide'; cf. *μετρίσαι* from *μέτρος*), generally *נָקֵד*, a decree of a judge or king, or Divine decision. Not fatalism but foreordination was the belief of Pharisaism.

The new term for God's foreordination was grafted on OT notions evolved from new ideas of God's Providence. The Bab. god Marduk held a solemn assembly of the gods on New Year's Day, when the lot was cast, the year's destiny settled, and Marduk seized anew the reins of government (A. Jeremias, *OT in the Light of the Ancient East*, Eng. tr. 1910, i. 59). It is probable that this largely influenced the Jewish observance of the autumnal New Year, and gave rise to the Pharisaic belief in a *ἐλαφρεύη*. For on the first of Tishri, the agricultural New Year and Feast of Trumpets, the sole sovereignty of God is emphasized in the liturgy in a special manner. On that day God holds a court of justice in heaven, before which all mankind are arraigned. Satan is the accuser, and prayers and the sound of the trumpet ascending as a memorial (Lv 23²⁴) are the special pleaders. Three books are opened, wherein is inscribed the fate of each individual—one for the perfectly righteous, one for the perfectly wicked, and one for the mediocre; the first two are respectively sealed on that day for life and for death, the third is left open for forensic proceedings, merits and demerits being balanced during the penitential days, and is sealed on the Day of Atonement (*Rosh Hash.* 16b ff.). The usual salutation on New Year's Day is: 'May you be inscribed (on the Day of Atonement, 'May you be sealed') for a good year!' The *Musaph* prayers for the New Year say:

'On this day sentence is passed upon countries—which of them is to be destined to the sword and which to peace, which to famine and which to plenty; and every creature is visited therein, and recorded for life or for death. Who is not visited on such a day as this?'

Even the extent of man's sustenance is decreed in this session (*Beša*, 16a). The sentences, however, of this annual assize are not irrevocable. 'Repentance, Prayer, and Almsgiving rescind the evil decree' (Liturgy, and *Rosh Hash.* 16b). Hence a converted sinner can be said to annul the Divine *q'zar din* (*Mo'ed Kat.* 16b), in so far that it is no longer applicable to him since he became another.

Man, then, remains master of his religious and moral destiny. 'Everything is in God's hands, except the fear of God' (*Ber.* 33; *Meg.* 25a). Good and evil are the issues of man's actions (*Deh. R.* iv.). He possesses the power to delile himself and to keep himself clean (*Yoma*, 39a). In *Mak.* 10b it is proved from the Law, the Prophets, and the Writings that one is guided on the way he desires to walk.

But, when God's Providence is spoken of, we meet in Jewish literature with sentiments expressive of determinism. It is possible that the Stoic philosophy lent a colouring to Jewish speculations on Divine Providence. We know that the ethics of Stoicism agree in many points with those of the Haggada, betraying some acquaintance, on the part of the Rabbis, with the tenets of that school. Strabo identifies Judaism with Stoicism (Reinach, *Textes d'auteurs grecs et romains relatifs au judaïsme*, Paris, 1895, pp. 11, 16, 99, 242). Ben Sira (17¹ 15¹¹⁻¹⁷) asserts the freedom of human will in the manner of one attacking a contrary opinion. Josephus (*BJ* vi. i. 8, iv. 8) uses the word *ἐλαφρεύη* as if he were a real fatalist. The repeated emphasis laid on Divine foreknowledge is a step in the direction of fatalism. Thus, in the above mentioned *Musaph* prayers for the New Year, God is spoken of as 'looking (רָאָה) and beholding to the end of all generations.' A dictum of R. 'Akiba's was (*Ab.* iii. 19): 'Everything is foreseen (רָאָה, equivalent to Josephus' *ἐλαφρεύη*=*providere* [*BJ* ii. viii. 14]),' although it is added: 'free will is given.' Man in his nature and environment is a product of a predetermined will. 'He is fashioned, born, lives, dies, and is brought to judgment against his will' (*Ab.* iv. 29). In his ante-natal state his sex, constitution, size, shape, appearance, social position, livelihood, and all that may befall him, are pre-ordained (*Tanḥ.* on Ex 38²¹). Marriages are made in Heaven. Forty days before the birth of a child its future spouse is proclaimed by a herald (לִפְנֵי נָזַר), and no prayers can alter it (*Mo'ed K.* 18b; *Sanh.* 22a). Throughout his life his feet guide him whither he is destined to go (*Suk.* 55). The very wounding of a finger is previously proclaimed in heaven (*Ab. Zara*, 54). No one dies prematurely, although the plague may rage for seven years (*Sanh.* 29). His mental endowments are likewise prescribed. One has an aptitude for studying Haggada, another for Mishna, another for Gemara, and another for all three. Even the prophetic gift was bestowed in measure. One prophet was the author of two books, another of a chapter, and another of only one verse (*Yalkuṭ* on Job 9¹⁶). 'By thine own name, says Ben 'Azai, will they call thee, in thy place will they seat thee, of thine own will they give thee. No one can touch anything that is destined for another. No kingdom can extend a hairbreadth against another' (*Yoma*, 38a).

History is shaped in accordance with a pre-ordained plan. Suffering, death, the Deluge, Israel's servitude in Egypt and persecution by Haman, were prescribed before creation (*Tanḥ.* on Ex 3¹). God revealed to Adam before he was completely formed his righteous descendants (*ib.*). To Moses He showed a list of 'every generation, its kings, guides, and prophets from the creation until the final resurrection of the dead' (*Midr. R.* on Ex 31). The leaders were to appear on the stage of time as they were wanted: *Uno avulso non deficit alter*. Thus, 'before Moses' sun set, Joshua's rose.' Similar was the case with Eli and Samuel. On the day R. 'Akiba was slain, Judah the Prince was born, and on the latter's death day Rab Ada bar Ababa was born,' etc. (*Midr. R.* on Gn 23¹). Israel's election was decreed from all eternity, and is irrevocable. Their final redemption must be preceded by repentance.

Should they fail to repent at the appointed time, God will force it by raising up for them another tyrant like Haman (*Sanh.* 97b, 98a). The interference of miracles with the course of Nature, such as the dividing of the Red Sea at the Exodus, the solstice at Gibeon, the Jonah miracle, etc., was in accordance with a Divine 'stipulation' before creation (*Midr. R.* on Gn 1st).

How far foreordination was compatible with the doctrine of rewards and punishments was a frequent subject of discussion in the Talmudic period. But the Rabbis advanced no solution of the problem beyond the categorical statement that, notwithstanding, man possessed freedom of will. At most it was added that compliance with the law merited greater reward for the righteous and severer punishment for transgressors (*Shab.* 32a). The problem wrecked the faith of Elisha ben Abnyah. It was left to the Jewish philosophers of the Middle Ages to reconcile the doctrine of Divine foreknowledge with freedom of will. It being beyond the scope of this article to reproduce their arguments, we conclude that all, with perhaps the exception of Hasdai Crescas, rejected fatalism, pointing out that foreknowledge was not identical with causation.

LITERATURE.—*JE*, artt. 'Fate,' 'Predestination'; Hamburger, art. 'Bestimmung'; F. Weber, *Jüdische Theologie*, Leipzig, 1897, Index; L. Stein, *Die Willensfreiheit . . . bei den jüd. Philosophen des Mittelalters*, Berlin, 1882; D. Kaufmann, *Gesch. der Attributenlehre*, Gotha, 1877; S. Bernfeld, *Da'ath Elohim*, Warsaw, 1897; M. Joseph, *Judaism as Creed and Life*, London, 1910, ch. vi.

A. E. SUFFRIN.

FATE (Muslim).—1. General.—Islām has often been charged with being a fatalistic religion, but this reproach is not quite merited. For a proper analysis of fatalism in Islām, it is important, in the first place, to distinguish between the popular point of view and the philosophical or theological. Eastern peoples have a psychological tendency to fatalism; but this species of popular fatalism, numerous traces of which are found in their folklore, is a sentiment rather than a doctrine. It is, moreover, limited to the outstanding accidents of human life, and especially to death, which it represents as happening of necessity at such and such a time and in such and such circumstances, no matter what one may do to avoid it; it is, we may say, a physical fatalism. The fatalism of the scholars is rather a moral fatalism; it does not apply specially to death, but refers to all human actions, holding these to be decreed by God. It is true that there have been scholars who taught fatalism in Islām, and that the books of Muslim theologians and the Qur'ān itself contain propositions apparently inculcating fatalism. At the same time, it must be remembered that the doctrine of fatalism has always been expressly repudiated by orthodox Islām, which believes in the free will of man, although it encounters serious difficulty in reconciling [this with the all-powerful will of God. We now proceed to indicate briefly how the questions of predestination and free will are treated in the Qur'ān, among various philosophical sects, and among the people.

2. In the Qur'ān.—Muhammad speaks of books, kept in heaven, in which the deeds of men are written down, and which will be used as the basis of the Last Judgment. One of these books is called *Illiyūn*: 'The book of the righteous is in *Illiyūn*' (Qur'ān, lxxxiii. 18 [*SBE* ix. 324]); another is called *Sijjīn*: 'The book of the wicked is in *Sijjīn*' (lxxxiii. 7 [*SBE*, loc. cit.]). Tradition has it that these books are eternal, though this is not indicated in the text of the Qur'ān; probably Muhammad thought the lists were written day by day as the deeds took place. There are also books relating to each individual:

'As for him who is given his book in his right hand [at the Last Judgment], he shall be reckoned with by an easy reckoning. . . . But as for him who is given his book behind his back, he shall call out for destruction, but he shall broil in a blaze!' (lxxxiv. 7-12).

Muhammad's idea seems to be that human actions are noted down in the books at the time they are performed. There is still another book, called the 'perspicuous Book,' relating to the whole world:

'Nor shall there escape from it the weight of an atom, in the heavens or in the earth, or even less than that, or greater, save in the perspicuous Book' (lxxxiv. 3 [*SBE* ix. 150]).

According to tradition, this book is eternal; but the Qur'ān does not say so. In short, the relevant passages do not justify the popular expression 'It was written' (with 'from all eternity' understood).

While there is no text in the Qur'ān affirming that men's actions are decreed in advance by God, we find passages, on the other hand, which seem to signify that God forces certain men to do evil, that He predestines a certain number to hell; e.g. the following verses:

'Had we pleased we would have given to everything its guidance; but the sentence was due from me:—I will surely fill hell with the *jinn* and with men all together' (xxxii. 13). 'We have created for hell many of the *jinn* and of mankind: they have hearts and they discern not therewith; they have eyes and they see not therewith; they have ears and they hear not therewith; they are like cattle, nay, they go more astray! these it is who care not' (vii. 178). 'God leads astray whom He pleases, and guides whom He pleases' (xxxv. 9, etc.).

These passages are probably not to be taken quite literally. Muhammad in the Qur'ān does not speak with the precision of a teacher, but rather expresses himself as an orator, almost as a poet. His very emphatic terms were occasioned by the persistent stubbornness of his audience, and may mean only that God finally hardens the hearts of the wicked who have first scorned His favours. This is more clearly stated in ii. 17 (*SBE* vi. 3):

'Deafness, dumbness, blindness, and they shall not return!'

It will be noticed that the above passages are reminiscent of the Bible; Muhammad applies to the wicked what the Bible says of idols (Ps 115⁶⁻⁷ 135¹⁶⁻¹⁷).

3. With the theologians.—It was not until philosophical studies began to flourish that the question of fatalism was thoroughly investigated in Islām. The attributes of God are enumerated; amongst them are specified knowledge, will, power. These Divine attributes must be absolute; what room is left then for the will and power of man? The philosophers knew God as universal agent and creator of all things. If God was the 'agent' of everything, how could man be the 'agent' also (and, so to speak, over and above) of his own actions? In God also they saw the supreme 'cause,' the cause of causes; how then could they admit that man was capable of performing deeds of which God was not the 'first cause'? Such were the philosophical forms in which the question was clothed.

God's will and knowledge, according to Muslim theologians, produce from all eternity a sort of decree which is realized by His power. This decree is called the *qadā*; its continual realization is the *qadar* (cf. Jurjānī, in the book of the *Ta'rifāt*). Now, man, under this Divine decree, must be left enough liberty to give his life a moral significance; at the same time, the morally bad actions of wicked men must not be attributed to God. This was the problem which Muslim theology tried to solve, but we cannot say that it has given a clear solution.

There is a short treatise by an interesting though late author, Abd ar-Razzāq (q.v.), the Šūfī († A.D. 1330 at Kāshān), which well represents the point of view of orthodox Muhammadanism on this question. The work is called *Tract on Predestination and Free Will* (*Risālat fī 'l-Qadā wa 'l-qadar*). Amidst many subtleties, we see how the author conceives the rôle and function of the will in human action, and the part he means to leave to it in

relation to God's will. Knowledge, says 'Abd ar-Razzāq, is the impression of the form of a known object on the mind of man; perception is the feeling of the object given by the external senses, such as sight, or by the internal senses, such as intelligence or imagination. Power is that faculty of the soul which makes it able to accomplish or leave unaccomplished any action; will is the decision which encourages or forbids its accomplishing. The distinction between the 'power' and the 'will' of man plays an important part in these discussions.

When we perceive a thing, we know it; when we know it, we judge whether it is agreeable or repugnant to us; and it produces in us a certain inclination which makes us pursue it or reject it: this inclination is will; and it is will that acts upon the power which moves the members according to the choice of the will. In cases where we are not compelled to admit the absolute agreeableness or non-agreeableness of the object, our intelligence employs the faculty of reflexion and imagination to find out to which side the balance leans; and the will of the intelligence gives free scope to its opinions in this investigation. It may happen that a thing is agreeable under certain aspects and repugnant under others; e.g., it may please some of our senses and not the others, it may be good for certain members and harmful for others, it may please the senses and repel the mind, or inversely; or, again, it may be of advantage for the present but not for the future, or inversely. Every agreeable motive produces an attraction, every other a repulsion; if the attractions prevail, the result is a free decision in favour of the action. To this decision should be attributed praise or blame, according as the action is good or bad; it is this decision that deserves either reward or punishment. Nevertheless, 'Abd ar-Razzāq continues, there is no doubt that perception, knowledge, power, will, reflexion, imagination, and the other faculties exist by the agency of God and not by ours. He concludes that we must refer all actions to God as the agent who makes them exist, without, however, entirely withdrawing them from their human authors.

Ghazālī has a fairly thorough investigation of the question in his *Epistle to Jerusalem*, a section of his great treatise on the *Ihyā*. The principle is that everything produced in the world is the act and creation of God—'God has created you, and what ye make' (Qur'ān, xxxvii. 94). No single movement escapes the power of God, but the decision lies none the less with man to a certain extent. Every free act is, in a way, decided twice—once by God and once by man; it depends upon God for its production, and upon man for the merit or demerit resulting from it; or even, outside of the moral sphere, for the advantages or disadvantages following upon it, since for God there is no advantage or disadvantage. This quality in actions of being advantageous or disadvantageous, which does not exist except from the human point of view, is called *kasb*, 'gain' (cf. Jurjānī, *Tarīfāt*). The choice, therefore, lies with man, the accomplishing of the action with God; the movement is man's, but created by God. God is the creator of the action decided by the human will.

Even before Ghazālī, this doctrine had been very clearly formulated in the work of the theologian Ash'arī. Human power, according to this *imām*, can have no influence upon the production of actions, for everything that exists is produced by a unique decree which is superior to the distinction between substance and accident; and, if man's decision could influence this creative decree, it could also influence the production of natural objects, and almost create the heavens and the

earth. We must, therefore, believe that God has arranged man's actions beforehand in such a way that things will happen at their proper time in conformity with the decisions of the human will. Man produces an action in appearance only; it is really created by God; but, from the moral point of view, the action is 'attributed' to man because he decided it. Here we have a veritable system of pre-established harmony.

4. With the School of Philosophers.—The question of providence and evil was thoroughly discussed in the philosophic school. Avicenna (*q.v.*) in particular has some very fine passages on it in his *Najāt* (p. 78, section on Providence, and how evil enters into the Divine judgment), and in a treatise specially devoted to the subject—the *Risālat al-Qadr* (*Treatise on Destiny*, tr. by Mehren). In these we meet with ideas, expressed in very eloquent terms, that might be compared with those of Leibniz.

Providence, for Avicenna, is

'the knowledge of God enveloping everything. . . . The knowledge God has of the kind of beneficence applicable to the universal order of things is the source whence good flows over everything.'

How is evil possible in this world which is enveloped by the thought of the absolutely good Being? Avicenna answers the question by a theory of optimism. He recognizes three kinds of evil—metaphysical, moral, and physical. To moral evil he pays little attention; metaphysical evil does not exist except in potential beings, not yet completely realized, i.e. in the corruptible world, which is inferior to the sphere of the Moon; it depends on matter; but in the sphere of the Intelligibles there is no metaphysical evil, since everything there exists in a state of complete perfection. As for physical evil, it is less widely spread than physical good; it is frequent, indeed, but not so frequent as good; not illness, but health, is the normal state. Further, every evil is a good in some sense: the weaker animal torn by the wild beast, and the sparrow carried off by the bird of prey, suffer; but their suffering is for the advantage of the stronger animal. Physical good and evil cannot be the same in the eyes of God as they are to us; His point of view and the motives of His judgment are hidden in a mystery which ought to forbid our condemning His work.

5. With certain theological sects.—The doctrine of 'Abd ar-Razzāq is that of the orthodox theologians of Islām; it strikes a happy mean; on either side there is a sect famous in the history of Islām: the Qadarites, who credit man with full power in the production of his actions, and the Jabarites, who credit him with none.

The Qadarites (from *qudrah*, 'human power,' not from *qadar*, 'the Divine decree') hold that man has the power to create his own actions, and do not allow that his evil actions are produced by God. Ash'arī and 'Abd ar-Razzāq reproach them with positing two principles, one for good deeds—God—and one for bad—Satan. The prophet, writes 'Abd ar-Razzāq, said:

'The Qadarites are the Magi of this generation, since they acknowledge two powerful, independent principles, just as the Magi, who looked upon Yezdan and Ahriman as independent principles, the one of good, the other of evil.'

The Mu'tazilites, who were not exactly, as they have been called, free-thinkers, but theologians with a rationalistic tendency, in the 3rd and 4th centuries of Islām, were interested in the question of human freedom; they treated the subject, with a very few differences, in the Qadarite sense.

The Jabarites are the opposite of the Qadarites. They utterly deny the freedom of man; they do not believe that an action really comes from man, but attribute everything entirely to God. Man, they hold, does not even have the power of choice.

God creates the choice and the action along with the sanctions they involve. The name 'Jabarite' comes from *jabr*, 'constraint,' because in this system man is constrained in his every action by the decree of God; good and evil are necessary in him just as are their consequences.

The best known Jabarite teacher is Jahm, son of Safwān. He began to teach at Tirmiz and was put to death by Salīm, son of Ahwaz al-Māzinī, at Merv at the end of the reign of the Umayyads (8th cent. A.D., according to Shahrastānī, text, p. 59). This teacher held that God creates actions in man as He creates them in things, and that actions are attributed to man only metaphorically, as they are to things, when it is said, e.g., that the tree produces fruits, the water runs, etc. Rewards and punishments are compulsory like the actions themselves.

The name Jabarite with the qualification 'moderate' (or 'mitigated') has, according to Shahrastānī, sometimes been given to those who accord a certain rôle in the production of an action to the power of man, while not allowing him freedom of choice. Jurjānī's definition in the *Ta'rifāt*, that 'the moderate Jabarites are those who accord man a certain merit or demerit in the action, like the Ash'arites,' is not exact; for this last position is confused with the orthodox view.

It should be observed that those ancient Muslim teachers who deny human freedom always deny it on the ground of the omnipotence of God, and not of a purely natural determinism; they still cling to religion even in the very act of annihilating freedom, the condition of moral life.

'Abd ar-Razzāq criticized both sects—Qadarites and Jabarites—in these terms:

'Both are blind in one eye; the Qadarites in the right eye, the stronger, the eye that perceives essential realities; the Jabarites in the left eye, the weaker, the eye that perceives exterior objects. But the man whose sight is sound enjoys two eyes; he sees the Divine essence with his right eye and refers human actions to it, both good and bad; he sees created things with his left eye, and holds that man influences his own actions, not in an independent fashion, but by God. He thus recognizes the truth of the word [attributed to the] Prophet—not absolute constraint or absolute independence, but something between the two.'

6. In popular belief.—The popular conception of fatalism, as we have said, applies only to the outstanding accidents of life and to death. Man is in the power of certain superior, obscure forces, and, however he may struggle against them, he cannot alter the destiny in store for him. This is exactly the ancient Greek idea of destiny: human freedom is not denied, but it is represented as vain in practice, in face of the all-powerful forces that preside over our lives. For example, if it is decided by the power above that a man shall die under certain circumstances, nothing can ever prevent the fulfilling of this decree.

It was prophesied to Khalīf Ma'mūn, the famous promoter of philosophic studies in Islām, that he would die at Raqqā; he accordingly always avoided the well-known town of that name; but one day, when returning from an expedition, he encamped in a little place, where he was seized with a violent fever; he asked the name of the village, and was told that it was Raqqā; then he understood that this was the place, unknown to him, to which destiny had brought him, and had no doubt that his death would follow soon—as it did, in fact, within a few hours.

This willingness to believe that death cannot come except at a fixed time and place is a source of great courage in battle; for where is the danger in recklessness? If it is not written that one is to die, he will suffer no harm; and, if it is written, then nothing can save him. Orthodox theology, however, does not altogether approve of this sentiment. Khalīf Omar uttered a very wise saying on this subject, which well represents the point of view of sound theology: 'He who is in the fire should resign himself to the will of God; but he who is not yet in the fire need not throw himself into it.' 'Resignation' or, rather, 'abandonment' to God is the form of fatalism admitted by the teaching of Islām. It is the idea of Christian mysticism—the believer should abandon himself to the will of God. The very name of Islām expresses this

sentiment: *islām* means 'the action of giving up oneself, of surrendering' (i.e. to God).

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BON CARRA DE VAUX.

FATEHPUR-SIKRĪ (Arab. *fath*, 'victory,' Hindi *pur*, 'city,' and *Sikrī*, the original name of the site).—A famous deserted city, situated in the Agra District of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh; lat. 27° 5' N.; long. 77° 40' E.; 23 miles W.S.W. of the city of Agra. Akbar selected the rocky ridge which passes through the old Hindu village of Sikri as the site of his new capital.

The native historian, Nizām-d-dīn Ahmad, in his *Tabakāt-i Akbari* (H. M. Elliot, *Hist. of India*, 1873, v. 332f.), records that 'the Emperor had several sons born to him, but none of them had lived. Shaikh Salīm Chishtī, who resided in the town of Sikri, 12 kos from Agra, had gladdened him with the promise of a son. The Emperor went to visit the Shaikh several times, and remained there ten or twenty days on each occasion. He commenced a fine building there on the top of a hill, near the Shaikh's monastery. The Shaikh also commenced a new monastery and a fine mosque, which at the present day has no equal in the world, near the royal mansion.' This noted saint of Sikri, a descendant of another great saint, Shaikh Farīd Shakkarganj, was born at Delhi in A.D. 1478, and spent the greater part of his life at Sikri, where he died in 1572. The son promised to Akbar was born in the house of the saint, was named Sultān Salīm after him, and became Emperor under the title of Jahāngir (born 1569, ascended the throne 1605, died 1627).

The new palace was founded by Akbar in 1569, after his return from a victorious campaign at Ranthambhor, and the name 'city of victory' commemorates this success and the conquest of Gujārāt which immediately followed. His design in selecting this site for his capital and palace was to secure for himself, his family, and people the benefits of the intercession of the holy man referred to above. It continued to be the principal residence of Akbar until 1584, and was also occupied by his son and successor, Jahāngir; but it was abandoned by Shāhjahān in favour of Delhi, partly because the position of the latter was superior, and partly because the site of Fatehpur-Sikri was found to be unhealthy and the water supply unsatisfactory. Many of the buildings are now in ruins, but careful restoration has been effected by the Indian Government, and a complete survey of the site was carried out by E. W. Smith. Here it is necessary to describe only two of the most important religious buildings—the tomb of the saint Salīm Chishtī, and the Great Mosque, both situated within the same enclosure, the state entrance to which is by a splendid gateway, the Buland or Baland Darwāza, 'great gate.'

Fergusson describes this gate as 'noble beyond any portal attached to any mosque in India, perhaps in the world,' and points out the skill of its architect. The inscription, cut in bold Arabic characters, records its erection in A.D. 1602 to commemorate the cooquet of Khāndesh. Coming from a great builder, it has a pathos of its own: 'Said Jesus, on whom be peace! "The world is a bridge; pass over it, but build no house there. He who hopeth for an hour, may hope for an eternity. The world is but an hour; spend it in devotion; the rest is unseen. He that standeth up to pray, while his heart is not in his duty, exalteth not himself, remaining far from God. Thy best possession is that which thou hast given to alms; thy best traffic is selling this world for the next" (E. W. Smith, *The Moghul Architecture of Fatehpur-Sikri*, pt. iv. p. 17).

The Great Mosque is called by Fergusson 'the glory' of the place, and is hardly surpassed by any in India. Bishop Heber (*Journal*, ch. cxi.) characteristically contrasts it with the Oxford and Cambridge quadrangles. A chronogram on the main arch records its erection in A.D. 1571. The tomb of the saint, with its lovely carved arcade enclosing the cenotaph, the body being interred in a vault below, is one of the most beautiful buildings in India. It has been fully illustrated

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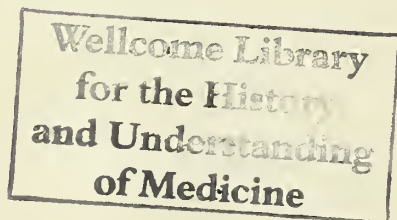
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FORTUNE.

Biblical and Christian (R. W. MOSS), p. 88.

Celtic.—See COMMUNION WITH DEITY (Celtic), DIVINATION (Celtic), and especially FATE (Celtic).

Chinese (W. G. WALSH), p. 91.

Greek (ST. GEORGE STOCK), p. 93.

Iranian (L. H. GRAY), p. 96.

Jewish (A. E. SUFFRIN), p. 96.

Roman (W. WARDE FOWLER), p. 98.

FORTUNE (Biblical and Christian).—Two inconsistent conceptions of fortune are found in association with Heb. thought. The one recognizes it as a superhuman force acting alike upon gods and men, and gradually deifies it as a person to be invoked and appeased. The other keeps its apportionment strictly within the functions of Jahweh, without any betrayal of the monotheistic position; and this conception eventually established itself as a norm of thought and devotion in Christendom.

I. There are several indications that Fortune was known to the early Semites under the name of *Gad*, and amongst them must be placed the ancient tradition in Gn 30¹¹. If the text be read according to the direction of the Massoretes (גַּד גִּדִּי; so also the Targum), Leah is represented as first exclaiming, 'Good fortune is come,' and then selecting the term as the name of her handmaid's son. The tribal name may have been current before this explanation of its origin was given; but the vivid human interest of the narrative points on the whole to the opposite conclusion. The Aram. lady was so delighted at the success of her device and the close of her disappointments that she gratefully recognized the action of the power which she had already learnt to be superior to any local god, and chose for the child a name that would be a memorial of her gratitude and a pledge of his future prosperity. At the time of the narrator this power had probably itself been invested with personality and exalted to the rank of a god. At the more ancient period, in which the traditional story is placed, an earlier stage in the development of the thought is represented. The power is conceived as impersonal, with a certain degree of uncertainty attaching to it, which could not be entirely removed by any kind of appeasement. The endeavour to devise means of ensuring the favourable action of this force must have been an important factor both in hastening the process of personification and in grouping the gods into a hierarchy.

1. **Origin of the term.**—Etymologically the radical idea in the word *Gad* is that of cutting or penetrating into something—cutting the flesh as a religious observance (1 K 18²⁸), or making attacks upon the life of the righteous (Ps 94²¹). 'Cutting off' so as to make detachments or bands is a later meaning (see *Oxf. Heb. Lex. s.v.*). Hence fortune is conceived primarily as an external influence, hostile, or at least likely to be mischievous, breaking in upon a man's hope or scheme, and not to be averted by the ordinary worship of the local god. It was an easy step, in accordance with principles traceable in almost all the early stages of primitive religion, to invest this influence with neutral qualities and make it a source of good as well as evil. That is evidently the stage corresponding with the presuppositions of the narrative of Leah; and the full personification of Fortune as superior to the local gods and altogether outside their control was a natural corollary.

2. **Early range of the conception in Israel.**—It was almost certainly from the Canaanites that Israel learnt this conception of Fortune, and also borrowed the nomenclature. Several place-names might be quoted in evidence. On the northern limit of

Joshua's conquest was the town of Baal-gad (Jos 11¹⁷ 12⁷ 13³), possibly identical with the Baal-hermon of 1 Ch 5²³ (but see Curtis, *ICC* [1910], *in loc.*) and Jg 3³. The boundary was variously designated, topographically by the conspicuous landmark of the famous mountain, or, more reverently, by the village on its slopes with the significant name 'The Lord of Good Fortune,' or 'Good Fortune is our Lord.' To interpret the place-name as denoting that Baal brings good fortune to those who reside there is to ascribe to the people an impossible degree of idolatry even in those polytheistic days, unless the name was current among the earlier Can. population. In that case it is easy to understand why the Israelites sometimes preferred to call the place by a less suggestive name. Migdal-gad (Jos 15³⁷), again, in the territory of Judah, is 'the tower of Gad,' and is commemorative of the ancient worship there. Apparently it dates back to a time when Fortune had already become personified in the locality.

A similar feature can be traced in personal names, two of which at least are very ancient. Gaddi (Nu 13¹¹), 'my fortune,' was one of the twelve spies; and Gaddiel (Nu 13¹⁰), 'God is my fortune,' was another. Neither of these involves the conclusion that Fortune was already regarded as an independent deity. Endearment or devoteness is a sufficient explanation. The former recurs again centuries later under the form of Gaddis (1 Mac 2³), the eldest brother of Judas Maccabæus. For Gadi (2 K 15¹⁴ 17), the father of Menahem, there are Nabatæan and Palmyrene parallels; and a fond name of such a kind would naturally be popular with mothers. Azgad (אֶזְגָד) is the name of one of the signatories of the covenant in Neh 10¹⁵. A number of the family or clan had returned with Ezra (2¹²; but cf. Neh 7¹⁷, 1 Es 5¹³ 8³⁸, RVm). The clan was evidently a large one, and the original detachment was followed by a second. Its name has been identified with the Aram. אֶזְגָר or אֶזְגִּי (*Targ.* Is 18²), a 'runner' or 'messenger'; but no early instances of its use in this sense can be found. 'Gad is mighty' (Gray, *Heb. Prop. Names*, London, 1896, p. 145) is the meaning; and the thought is not a general complaint of the hardness of fate, but the ascription of power to a god Fortune conceived as personal. It is not probable that this family learnt this special form of idolatry in Babylon, for so far that district has yielded few, if any, traces of the prevalence within it of the worship of Fortune. The family became familiar with the worship in their earlier Canaanitish home, and brought it with them to Babylon, where, in the misery and disappointment of the times, it may well have spread among their countrymen, though not attracting the native Babylonians. That large numbers of this family should join the return from the Exile would be due partly to a reaction in favour of the worship of Jahweh, and partly to an adventurous and unstable type of character.

The only explicit reference in the OT to the worship of Fortune is in Is 65¹¹, where also the kindred deity Destiny (Mēni) appears. The passage may be dated before the reforms of Nehemiah (Box, *Isaiah*, 338), or even before the return from the Exile, in which case it may help to account for the large representation of the B'nē 'Azgad among

the exiles. It shows that the worship of Gad was well organized with a full ritual, and with attractions that appealed strongly to certain types of mind and conflicted with the claims of Jahweh. The group of rites was an adaptation of the primitive *lectisternium*, in which the images of the gods were placed on couches before tables covered with viands (cf. Jer 7¹⁸). Fortune and Destiny would be treated thus in association (cf. Jerome, *in loc.*), there being, indeed, traces that the two were thought of as a pair, different in gender but complementary in function. This 'preparing a table' does not carry the idea of indulgence and debauchery, as in Ezk 23⁴¹. The thought was that the worshipper would ingratiate himself with the gods, averting ills which Destiny had prepared and securing the beneficence of Fortune; and the simple motive of court- ing the favour of a god was both original and permanent (cf. Jer 44¹⁷, Bel^{111c}).

3. Range outside Israel.—It is not easy to relate the worship of Fortune in Israel with that in kindred races. Aramaean, Arabie, and Syrian parallels are available; and there are possible connexions with Bab. beliefs, though there is no distinct mention of the god. Lenormant writes (*Chald. Magic*, Eng. tr., London, 1877, p. 120) of a 'Manu the great, who presided over fate'; and Sayce states (*Hibb. Lect.*³, 1891, pp. 460, 476, 489) that Merodach was worshipped with a view to ensure prosperity. Hence Gad and Meni have been identified with Merodach and Ištar; and this has been strengthened by the Oriental practice of worshipping Jupiter and Venus as the Larger and the Lesser Luck. Yet the result may be only an illustration of the tendency to invest the gods with real influence upon the life of man, or, under other circumstances, to identify them with the planets. For, in the Isaianic passages, Fortune and Destiny are antithetical rather than graded powers; and Meni is the god of a hostile fate, not of a lower degree of good fortune (cf. Skinner, *in loc.*). Similarly the LXX renders Gad by *δαίμωνιον* and Meni by *τύχη*, though the reverse order is supported by evidence of value, both MS and Patristic. But the significant thing is that the translators selected equivalents that are in antithesis. The one denotes a goddess, conceived as benignant; the other a supernatural force, awful, arbitrary, and only with difficulty persuaded to assume an attitude even of neutrality. The Bab. conception was different. It invested its higher deities with a power of affecting man in his enterprise and ways; but, as far as available information goes, it did not personify this power, or even separate in thought the power from the gods so far as to reach the Greek conception of a natural force playing upon gods and men alike. Hence neither the origin of the name Gad nor the responsibility for his worship can be claimed for Babylon. In Persian religious thought there is a closer parallel, possibly dependent in part upon Heb. influences and itself in turn influencing the development of the conception in Israel. An Old Persian word for 'god' is *bagā* (Av. *bagha*; Skr. *bhaga*, 'fortune'; an implication of divinity accompanying the Av. term). *Bagaios* as a Phrygian name for Zeus, and the identification of Gad with Jupiter, may be of a later date.

At a comparatively early period signs of personification appeared in the principal Sem. dialects. A transition is found in the Syr. phrase quoted by Baethgen, 'I swear by the Fortune (ܐܘܪܐ) of the king', with which may be compared the practice of swearing by the *τύχη* of the Seleucids. To places also the name was applied, at first adjectively in the sense of lucky or unlucky, and then with the implication that the place was the abode of a genius or god, kindly or ill-disposed. Both the Isaianic passage and the non-Jewish evidence

point back to an indeterminate period, during which the process of deification had been going on. For, just as an inscription of the 4th cent. B.C., dealing with the financial administration of Lyeurgus, refers to the cost of the sacrifices *τῇ Ἀγαθῇ Τύχῃ* (Roberts and Gardner, *Introd. to Gr. Epigraphy*, Cambridge, 1905, 100 Aa 12), and conveys the impression that the worship was long-standing, there are Phœnician, Nabatean, and Palmyrene inscriptions of a contemporaneous or little later date, which refer to the worship of Gad as though its origin were lost in antiquity and its prevalence were known to all. A Punic inscription of 254 B.C. (Cooke, *North Sem. Inscr.* Oxford, 1903, p. 27) carries back the line of descent of one of the royal *κατηφόροι* to an ancestor who is described as *גד* ܓܕ. Baethgen reads the name as 'The Fortune of Athe', Athe being probably identical with the Phrygian Attis or Adonis, whose cult was popular in the district (see, however, Nöldeke, *ZDMG* xlii. 471); and in any case a Phœnician deification of Gad at an early date must be allowed. A later inscription was discovered at Maktar in 1892, and records that a local council vowed to *גד* ܓܕ—a close parallel to the 'Fortune Cœlestis sacrum' of *CIL* viii. 6943. 'Lovers of Gad' is the title given on an altar in a village in Hauran to the family at whose expense the altar was built. The Palmyrene inscriptions are later, but again are evidence of a well-established practice. One of them links the worship of Bel with that of *גד* ܓܕ=*Τύχη* *Θαμείος*, i.e. Gad, the patron deity of the clan *ܗܕܝ*. Another protects a sepulchre with the imprecation that the breaker-in may 'have no seed or fortune for ever,' and thereby shows how the original conception of fortune as not itself a god, but simply a good gift administered by a god, lingered side by side with the later impersonation. Altogether it is certain that the tendency to deify Fortune was not specific to Israel, but common to the different races among which Israel grew up. It found expression in the roots of their language; it took definite shape in the attempt to analyze and group the apparently superhuman activities that were traceable in human life; and in the struggle with monotheism it was at length worsted, surviving in the form only of a private superstition.

In pre-Islamite Arabia, again, Manât is one of the three chief deities (cf. Qur'ân, liii. 20; Wellhausen, *Reste arab. Heid.*³, Berlin, 1897, p. 25; Lyall, *Anc. Arab. Poetry*, London, 1885, p. xxix), and is identified by the astrologers with Venus, the goddess of Lesser Luck (Siegfried, *JPT*, 1875, p. 356 ff.). Gad would consequently be the god of the Greater Luck, and equivalent in popular thought to Jupiter, to whom that title was given. These, however, are comparatively late identifications, and cannot have exercised any influence on the growth of the conception in Israel. What is wanted is a common source for beliefs that prevailed among the principal Sem. races, and cannot at present be traced in Bab. literature. The Assyr. Manu rabu (*WAT* iii. 66) has been suggested as the origin of Meni (Lenormant, 120), with Kibi-dunki as that of Gad. The latter god is described as a dispenser of favours; but the linguistic affinities are too remote to allow a confident assertion of dependence. It is more likely that the starting-point is to be found in a primitive human instinct, or rather in one of the earliest differentiations of the religious instinct, and that the development itself in Israel, checked at times of religious revival, recovered under the influence of the indigenous and neighbouring peoples.

4. In the NT.—There are no distinct indications in the NT of the personification of Fortune or of his particular worship. The nearest passage is

1 Co 10²¹; but 'the table of demons' need not even be the formal *lectisternium* in the precincts of the altar or anything more than the feast that was customary after certain sacrifices. It shows that the Christians at Corinth were in danger of becoming entangled in the idolatrous usages of their city, but not that they had yielded to the seductions of the worship of Fortune. Nor may such an inference be drawn from the allusions to sorcery and other magical arts in such passages as Ac 8⁹ 13⁶, Gal 5²⁰, Rev 9²¹ 21⁸ 22¹⁵ *et al.* (see DIVINATION). For, though it was undoubtedly believed that in such ways the weather and the crops, and the health and conditions of men, might be affected for weal or woe, the power assumed to be under the control of the sorcerer was rarely viewed as concentrated in a single person of Divine rank. A close connexion with idolatry is evident, especially in the cities of Asia; but not many in the Christian communities went further than to suspect or suppose that the arts of the sorcerer might elicit supernatural influences or even stir demonic agencies into action. Of the recognition of Fortune as a distinct deity there are no clear traces.

II. While the worship of Fortune was a form of idolatry that marked certain groups in Israel and occasionally became a national danger, views consistent with monotheism appeared at an early time, survived temporary and partial eclipses, gradually gathered force, and in the Christian era may be said to have held the field without any real rival. Of these views, common to both Jews and Christians, it is possible to distinguish several constituent elements.

1. The fundamental belief is that man's earthly fortune, with all its changes, is in the hands of God. To that belief frequent and varied expression is given in Scripture. Pleas for gratitude because of God's gift of good fortune are abundant (as in Dt 6^{10ff}); and the Song of Moses is a tribute to God as the dispenser of earthly favour, and a call upon Israel for worship because in that respect there is none like Him (Dt 33²⁶). It was an ancient proverb that 'the lot is cast into the lap; but the whole disposing thereof is of the Lord' (Pr 16³³); and in the early Christian practice the object was to provide a means by which an intimation of the Divine will might be given (Ac 1²⁴, 26). Ps 31¹⁵ sets each of the godly remnant singing 'My times are in thy hand,' much as in Is 33⁸ 'stability in thy times' is made the principal result of the fear of the Lord. All useful gifts, writes St. James (1⁷), are 'from above, coming down from the Father of lights'; similarly Jesus Christ in Mt 7¹¹ and 6³², where He even expostulates with men for supposing that their physical needs are forgotten. On the other hand, God dispenses evil fortune, according to the OT, where evil spirits and even Satan (Job 1⁶) are His ministers, by means of whom He brings adversity and disaster upon men. In the NT these beings become antagonistic to Him, and themselves independent sources of evil; but they are still subject to His restraints, and countervailing aids are provided (2 Co 12⁷⁻⁹). Everywhere God is the Lord of life; and the degree of earthly weal or woe is portioned out by Him.

2. As to God's aim in determining the changing conditions of life, there is a difference, at least in emphasis, between the teaching of the OT and that of the NT. Briefly the difference is that in the latter case moral considerations outweigh material good fortune, and secular blessedness falls into the background. The promises of the inheritance of the land (Ps 37²⁹, Is 57¹³ *et al.*) were taken literally in the one case, but in the other (Mt 5³) are inextricably involved with moral advantage. Even Ps 23, with its marvellous history in the records

of devotion, is concerned primarily with earthly fortune; and the still waters, green pastures, and spread table are at least as prominent as the guidance in the paths of righteousness and the confidence of the conscious presence of God. Between Job's estimate of life's relative values and that of St. Paul, there is a striking contrast. Job loses everything; and, when his mind is chastened, he gains more than he had originally possessed (Job 42^{11f}). Paul, too, lost most of the good fortune that men prize; but the effect was to make him exult in the fellowship of Christ's sufferings (Ph 3⁴⁰), and count all things only refuse, if he could but 'gain Christ and be found in him' (3^{8f}). Earthly comfort in its varied forms is the principal and most prominent, though not by any means the only, pursuit of the good man in the OT; whereas against such comfort, either in itself or in its natural influence on human character, the NT with the strenuous and lowly life of Jesus in its centre is a protest. From Mt 5⁴⁵ alone it might be inferred that God is indifferent to the morals of men in His gift of fortune; but the real meaning is that He affords the supreme example of fatherly love by showering kindnesses upon His children, though erring (2 P 3⁹). His aim is conceived as no longer chiefly or only earthly good, but as the moral perfecting of men. 'Rains and fruitful seasons' are sent not merely to fill the floors with wheat and the vats with wine and oil (Jl 2^{3ff}), but as witnesses to Himself (Ac 14¹⁷); and the fortunes of men are so arranged as to become opportunities for or incitements to repentance (Ac 11¹⁸). As He works in men in the prosecution of His benevolent purpose (Ph 2¹³), so He works around them, shaping their lives with a view to their spiritual triumph.

3. The methods He uses sometimes seem arbitrary; nor have the difficulties been entirely removed either by the teaching of Scripture or by later Christian thinking. In His administration of fortune, God sends or permits to come to men pain, sorrow, loss, at times the most poignant and intolerable; and the numerous instances where there is no manifest balance between a man's real deserts and his fortunes carry God's methods as the Lord of human lives beyond the reach of intelligence, and invest them with mystery and apparent self-will. Partial relief may be found, as the Christian poets have been quick to see, in the educative value of pain and adversity, the opportunities for growth by exercise presented to the active and passive virtues alike. And the residue of unintelligibility is no necessary proof of arbitrariness. It may be regarded as unavoidable, or even as an indication of correct thinking, when a finite mind attempts to interpret the ways of the Infinite, and as involved in the great principle of every religion worthy the name that 'we walk by faith, not by appearance' (2 Co 5⁷ marg.).

4. Obscure as God's methods may be, the uniform representation of Scripture is that they are wise and gracious, and, subject to the right action of man's will, effective. The fundamental principle according to which His gifts are bestowed is indicated in the parable of the Talents—'to each according to his several ability' (Mt 25¹⁵), which throws light upon the 'dividing to each one severally even as he will' of 1 Co 12¹¹. The distribution of fortune, as of natural gifts and of function, is in the hand of God, from whom no one is entitled to ask an explanation; yet He does not act without reason, but assigns to each man a lot in life and a series of experiences, such as each is best able to turn to purposes of moral advancement. The co-operation of man's will is indispensable, and neglect or rebellion on his part may make it necessary for God to arrange for him a new set of experiences (Jer 18⁴ 7-10), as His own design to enable a man to

make the best of himself is unchanging. No course could be wiser or kinder than to adapt the conditions of life in the interest of moral training and to the needs of mutual service. How God's particular gifts in detail conduce to that end is often a bitter and insoluble problem; but that such is the principle on which He acts is the implication of Scripture and the treasured conviction of Christendom.

5. Of this belief in the obscure but ethical disposal of human fortunes by God the Incarnation in some of its aspects is an illustration and pledge. On the one hand, as devised by God, it is such a modification of earthly conditions as is designed to bring redemption nigh. The cosmic relations are altered by the introduction of a new and mightier force; and upon the individual play influences from the incarnate Person and Life, which strengthen the tendencies to right and make the passage easier. Good fortune smiles upon him in his upward struggle, and supplies him with encouragement and aid. Further, in that God spared not His own Son (Ro 8²), the transcendent gift is a proof that His bounty will provide everything necessary for salvation, and order and re-adjust the changing fortunes of man accordingly. On the other hand, the varied incidence of fortune in the life of the Incarnate Himself brought opportunities for His growth in wisdom and in favour with God and man (Lk 2⁵²). Though he was Son, yet He learned obedience by the things which He suffered (He 5⁸), the tragedies of His life becoming a discipline in which there was no spirit of disobedience to be overcome, but a self-surrender to be kept complete at every stage by a deepening insight into the Father's will. Thus 'through sufferings' He was made perfect (He 2¹⁰); His humanity in its absolute dependence upon God became complete in moral dignity and power—a qualification for sympathy with man in every state of fortune, and an eternal proof that God's intention in regulating the good and ill of life is to lead men on without coercion to obedience and perfecting.

LITERATURE.—Commentaries on Gn 30¹¹, especially Dillmann⁶ (1892), Delitzsch⁵ (1887), Gunkel² (1902), Driver (1904), Skinner (1910); and on Is 65¹¹, especially G. A. Smith⁴ (1889), Delitzsch⁴ (1889), Duhm² (1902), and Boz (1908). Siegfried's essay in *JPTH* (1876) 356 ff., is especially valuable. Add F. Baethgen, *Beiträge z. sem. Religi.*, Berlin, 1888; J. Wellhausen, *Skizzen u. Vorarbeiten*², Berlin, 1899; Nöldeke, in *ZDMG* xlii. (1888) 479 ff.; and Baudissin, 'Gad,' in *PRE*³ vi. (1899) 328-336.

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FORTUNE (Chinese).—Popular ideas of what constitutes Fortune among the Chinese are variously classified.

1. We have, for instance, the 'Three Auspicious Stars,' an almost universal compendium, viz. Happiness, Emolument, and Longevity. A brief examination of each of these will help to elucidate the meaning which they convey to the Chinese mind.

Happiness is represented by the character *Fu*, and is frequently symbolized by the figure of a bat, the words for 'happiness' and 'bat' being similar in sound. *Fu* consists of a combination of two characters, signifying 'worship' and 'full,' and is explained to mean 'the felicity which attends Divine protection.' The character is found in every possible connexion: on the gables of houses, on the outside of funeral vaults, on written or painted scrolls; and is constantly heard from the lips of mendicants, and in all forms of congratulatory speech. It may be said to include every variety of earthly desiderata, and to correspond to our notion of 'blessedness.'

Emolument (Luh) is equivalent to the receipt of official stipend, or the material happiness which is conferred by the Imperial favour; and suggests the fact that, in China, one of the great objects of

ambition, and one avenue to greatness which is open, practically, to all classes of people, is the attaining of a position in the service of Government. The 'upper classes' in China consist, almost exclusively, of officials or their relatives, and the 'landed gentry' are represented, to a large extent, by retired officers or their descendants. To the Chinese, therefore, the 'happiness' of official emolument is an endowment of a much more tangible character, and much more capable of realization, than its equivalent in Europe. The word *Luh* is pronounced in the same way as that which stands for 'deer,' and hence 'office' or 'emolument' is often suggested, symbolically, by the picture of one of these animals.

Longevity (Shou)—compounded of the characters for 'old' and 'speak,' indicating the prerogative of age to speak with authority—is frequently represented by a crane or a tortoise, creatures regarded as enjoying an extraordinarily long term of life; and, in Taoist circles, by the peach, with which is connected the gift of immortality.

'May the Three Stars [*i.e.* Happiness, Emolument, and Longevity] shine on you!' is a familiar inscription on complimentary scrolls, etc.

It must not be supposed that every one possesses an equally unlimited capacity for enjoying these various benefits. Like the operations of Fate, they are strictly measured by the receptivity of those who would seek to partake of them. The portion of happiness which is allotted to a man may be early exhausted by too large drafts upon it; the conditions may be present, but not the power to assimilate the blessings proffered. Happiness, in measure, is within the reach of all, but great endowments are the lot of the few. Similarly, with regard to preferment, though it is asserted that 'God never sends a man into the world without providing him with a place and a vocation,' it is also admitted that he may be unable to maintain the dignity of the office which Heaven has assigned him. Longevity depends upon the Decree (see FATE [Chinese]), but it rests to a large extent with the object of that foreordination whether he attains to the full measure of his allotted span or not. The possession of these gifts, in any large proportion, is recognized as depending on Heaven's apportionment—as the proverb says, 'Complete happiness comes from Heaven'; whilst a lesser degree may be cultivated by the virtuous—'Great virtue carries happiness along with it'; 'To dwell in peace is happiness.'

2. A somewhat more comprehensive category is that of the 'Five Blessings,' viz. Longevity, Wealth, Tranquillity, Love of Virtue, and a Full-filled Destiny.

Wealth.—The character *Fu*, which differs in tone from that which stands for 'happiness,' though both are spelt alike in the Roman system, is explained as signifying a well-filled shelter; and, no doubt, to the vast majority of the Chinese this best represents the gifts of Fortune. The god of wealth is found in a conspicuous place in almost every house of business, and is daily propitiated with offerings and genuflections; for, though economy and finesse are recognized as having an important bearing on the acquisition of wealth, it is believed that 'riches and honour depend upon Heaven.' In this connexion also it is understood that only to a minor extent can man attain to Fortune by his own efforts—as the proverb says, 'Great wealth is from Heaven, little wealth comes from diligence.' The mind which is wholly concentrated on amassing a fortune is likely to be disappointed, since 'Longing for wealth destroys happiness,' 'Man dies in the pursuit of wealth.'

Tranquillity includes health of body as well as peace of mind.

The Love of Virtue is regarded as one of the most certain means to Fortune—as the proverb says, 'To those who do good deeds in secret, Heaven sends happiness in return'; 'Those who rely on virtue prosper'; 'By a single day's practice of virtue, though happiness be not attained, yet misery may be kept at a distance'; 'Perfect virtue acquires nothing, therefore it obtains everything'; 'Perfect virtue does nothing, but there is nothing which it does not do.'

A *Fulfilled Destiny*, or to 'attain to the end of the Decree,' is equivalent to completing the span of life which is allotted; or, in other words, to die a natural death.

3. Another summary is described as the 'Three Abundances,' i.e. Abundance of Good Fortune (*Fu*), Abundance of Years (*Shou*), and Abundance of Male Offspring (*Nan*); but these are recognized as comprehended in the above, and as being synonymous with Wealth, Honour, and Tranquillity. With regard to the last item there is a proverb which says: 'If your sons and grandsons are good, what (other) wealth do you want? If they are bad, what use is wealth to you?'

4. There are other terms applied to Fortune, such as the 'revolution' or 'wheel of fortune,' and the Creator is sometimes referred to in language which seems to represent Him as 'Fortune,' in accordance with the idea that what is brought about for men by a higher power is to be attributed to Fortune.

5. Methods adopted for the attainment of Fortune.—The pursuit of Virtue was, in the early days, regarded as the best, if not the only, means by which the gifts of Fortune might be attained, such gifts being then comprehended under the heads of 'riches and honour'; and in the Classics there are very few references to any arbitrary methods for the acquisition of those gifts. The following of the *Tao*, or living in conformity with Nature, was regarded as the surest way of attaining happiness; but in later ages—possibly as a result of the introduction of Buddhism, with its material objects of worship—a host of divinities was gradually invented, including the 'happy gods,' or gods of Fortune (the Chinese equivalent of the Lares and Penates), who are worshipped with a view to the dispensation of the gifts of Fortune. Thus the *god of wealth* is represented as supporting in one hand a 'shoe' of silver, and holding up a number of fingers of the other to indicate, as is popularly supposed, the amount of percentage he guarantees his votaries. The *god of the hearth*, commonly described as the 'kitchen god,' usually takes the form of a rough print, which is pasted on the wall of the large oven which serves for cooking purposes in Chinese kitchens. The spirit is supposed to preside over the affairs of the household, and is periodically 'invited,' or presented with offerings of food (in some families twice a month); and on the occasion when the 'god' is timed to ascend, in a chariot of fire, to Heaven, i.e. by being burnt in a bonfire, a special oblation of flesh is presented, so as to secure his goodwill as he mounts aloft to report the doings of the household during the year just closing. *Kwanyin*, generally denominated the 'goddess of mercy,' is worshipped by women who are desirous of obtaining male offspring, her name in Chinese being most commonly known as the 'Giver of sons.' The figure of the goddess is in some cases an almost exact replica of the Madonna and Infant—a resemblance which, there is good reason for believing, is the result of a definite historical connexion, rather than a mere accidental coincidence. The varieties of means for warding off evil influences and inducing prosperity are almost incalculable, including the wearing of charms of every description, the

writing of felicitous inscriptions on doors and walls, the scattering of a special powder in the four corners of apartments, the avoidance of ill-omened expressions on festival and other special occasions, and the careful study of the calendar with a view to the discovery of lucky and unlucky days.

6. *Fortune-telling*.—In the case of those who are in doubt, recourse to various classes of fortune-tellers is usual. These 'calculators of destiny' are generally divided into six classes: (1) those who profess to foretell the future by combining the eight cyclical characters which denote the year, month, day, and hour of birth; (2) those who study the physiognomy, the fingers, etc., of their clients, and attempt to delineate character, etc., thereby; (3) those who employ a number of slips of paper—generally 64 pieces—on which special symbols are written, and a specially-trained bird, which picks out two of these at a signal from its master; the two characters thus selected are interpreted as applying to the circumstances of the inquirer; (4) those who dissect the two written characters which are drawn at random by the applicant from a number submitted to him, and thus profess to trace his fortunes; (5) those who use a tortoise-shell and three ancient coins, or other contrivances, after the manner of throwing dice; (6) professors of *Feng-shui*, or geomancers, who examine the configuration of the countryside for lucky sites for buildings, tombs, etc. Cf., further, *ERE* iii. 731^b.

7. *Feng-shui*, 'wind and water,' is fully treated in a separate article, vol. v. p. 833.

8. *Popular scepticism*.—Whilst recognizing the fact of the traditions which appear to find almost universal acceptance, it is well to remember that there is another aspect of the question, represented by the common proverbs which seem to cast doubt upon the orthodox beliefs. To refer to the several departments of happiness which are represented as ideal, it may be said that, though the traditional means for the attainment of these desired ends are plainly exhibited and generally adopted, painful experience and doubt-provoking disappointment have suggested that the nominal high roads do not always lead to the destination indicated, as the following quotations may serve to show.

Happiness.—'Success (*Fu*) is the lurking-place of failure.' 'He who possesses a liberal mind will have great happiness.' 'The happy man finds a happy grave without the aid of the geomancer.' 'The fortune-teller dies in the prime of life, the *Feng-shui* philosopher has no hurrying-place.' 'The geomancer, whilst pointing south, north, west, and east, mumbles unmeaning words; if among the hills there are places which ensure nobility to later generations, why do they not seek such a place and hurry their own ancestors there?' 'Misfortune and prosperity have no door, they are evoked by men themselves.'

Ennui.—'Riches and honour are but a dream, office and ennui like hubbles on the water.' 'Wealth is the storehouse of resentment.' 'Honesty never gets rich.' 'To him who does not covet money it comes of itself.' 'Promote happiness by being content, promote health by keeping an easy stomach, promote wealth by cutting down expenses.'

Longevity.—'For cultivating long life there is nothing like moral goodness.' 'The benevolent are long-lived.' 'Virtue is a sure means of longevity.'

Similar expressions are applied to Fortune generally, as, e.g., 'If heart and luck both are had, you will be poor all your life long.' 'Lucky people need never be in a hurry.' 'The unlucky may do anything.'

Thus, though belief in the efficacy of charms of various kinds may appear to be universal, and fortune-telling, in its several departments, has proved to be a most profitable business, it is nevertheless a fact that, even amongst those who constantly resort to these methods, there is a deep underlying suspicion as to their effectiveness. It may well be that, as the drowning man clutches at a straw, so the Chinese people, taking counsel of despair, find some consolation in the thought that by so doing they are omitting no precaution; and that, even if no good may result, no harm is done in thus maintaining the traditional observances.

The very complexity of the methods may itself account for the growth of sceptical opinions; the number of lucky days, as set forth in the Imperial calendar, and the innumerable cross-currents of good and evil fortune which must be considered in the selection of a date for any enterprise, have resulted in the feeling expressed by the paradox that one is as little likely to go astray by neglecting to consult the calendar as he is in attempting to unravel the complications which attend the selection of a lucky day, according to the arbitrary methods therein set forth. Superstition in China has, therefore, overreached itself, and the future of the Chinese people may serve to show that the chains of traditional custom are not so inexorably fixed as has been generally supposed by their Western critics.

LITERATURE.—See under FATE (Chinese) and FENG-SHUI.

W. GILBERT WALSHE.

FORTUNE (Greek).—The word *τύχη* contains the stem of the verb *τυγχάνειν*, which meant originally to *hit the mark*, as *ἀμαρτάνειν* meant to *miss the mark*. Hence *τύχη* had about it, to begin with, the idea of success. The conception of Fortune is absent from the early religion of the Greeks. Macrobius (*Sat.* v. 16) has pointed out that the word *τύχη* never occurs in Homer. By the father of poets everything is assigned to *μοῖρα*. On the other hand, Macrobius remarks that the later poet Vergil even ascribes omnipotence to Fortune. Fortune is a goddess who grows up before our eyes within historical times. There is no mythological history attaching to her. She is more like the simple allegorizations of Roman religion than the complex deities of Olympus, endowed with a family history, personality, and adventures by the prolific fancy of the Greeks. She is not, as some have supposed, an importation from Asia, like Cybele; nor is it necessary to connect her with the mysterious *Cabeiri*. Fortune is rather a home-growth of the Greek intellect. The connexion between the nymph Tyche and the goddess Tyche, which has been so charmingly traced by F. Allègre, seems to be devoid of solid foundation. We read in the *Theogony* of Hesiod (line 360) that one of the daughters of Oceanus and Tethys bore this name:

Εὐδόρῃ τε, Τύχῃ τε, καὶ Ἀμφιρύῳ, Ὀκυρόρῃ τε.

And again in the 'Homeric' *Hymn to Demeter* (line 420) one of the maidens who was playing with Persephone, when she was carried off by Pluto, was called by the same name:

Μηλοβοῖσσι τε, Τύχῃ τε καὶ Ὀκυρόρῃ καλυκώπῃσι.

The juxtaposition of the two names *Τύχη* and *Ὀκυρόρῃ*, as well as a comparison of the two passages generally, makes one feel certain that the author of the hymn was borrowing from the *Theogony*. But that this humble nymph, lost among the crowd of her three thousand sisters (*Theog.* 364), grew into the tremendous power which at last scaled Olympus and ousted the gods from their thrones—this is more than we are required to believe, at least until some proof is forthcoming.¹ All that can really be gathered from Hesiod's mention of the nymph *Τύχη* is that the word *τύχη* was in the Greek language in his time, whereas we cannot be sure that it was so in Homer's. The names of all the other Oceanides being significant, we may justly infer that Tyche's was so also.

1. **The poets.**—The earliest surviving use of the word, otherwise than as a proper name, is in the 'Homeric' *Hymn to Athene* (xi. 5):

Χαίρε, θεά: δὸς δ' ἄμμι τύχην, εὐδαιμονίην τε.

Here *τύχη* is not a person, but a thing. The next is in a fragment of Archilochus (no. cxxxi. Gaisf.):

Πάντα τύχη καὶ μοῖρα, Περικλέης, ἀνδρὶ δίδωσιν.

The thing is here on its way to being a person. It gives and no longer is given. Half a century later,

¹ Pausanias (iv. 30. § 3) is responsible for the identification.

Alcman finds a very respectable pedigree for this new personage. According to him, Fortune—presumably the fortune of a State—is the sister of Loyalty and Persuasion, and her mother's name is Forethought (*Plut. de Fort. Rom.* 4, p. 318 A). Solon, whose archonship was in 594 B.C., reduces the person again to a thing. In the Introduction to his Laws he invokes Zeus to grant them success and honour (fr. xxiv. Gaisf.):

Πρώτα μὲν εὐχόμεσθα Διὶ Κρονίδῃ βασιλῇ,
θεομοῖς τοῖσδε τύχην ἀγαθὴν καὶ κύδος ὑπάσσει.

According to Theognis (c. 544 B.C.), it is not virtue or wealth which is the one thing needful for life, but simply luck (129 f.):

Μῆτ' ἀρετὴν εὖχου, Πολυπαῖδ', ἐξοχος εἶναι,
μήτ' ἀφένος· μόνον δ' ἀνδρὶ γένοιτο τύχη.

In other words, 'Nothing succeeds like success.' Pindar (c. 490 B.C.) is full of references to *τύχη*, sometimes associating it with Divine agency, as *τύχα μὲν δαίμονος* (*Ol.* viii. 67), *τύχα θεῶν* (*Pyth.* viii. 53), *σὺν Χαρίτων τύχα* (*Nem.* iv. 7). He appears to have composed an Ode to Fortune, in which he declared her to be a Fate, and rather more powerful than her sisters (*Paus.* vii. 26. § 3). To this Ode is assigned the fragment which is preserved by Aristides (ii. 256),

ἐν ἐργασίᾳ δὲ καὶ τύχα,
οὐ σθένος,

in which the sentiment is the same as in *Ec.* 911—'The race is not to the swift, nor the battle to the strong.' *Ol.* xii., which is said to have been recited in the temple of Fortune at Himera in Sicily, consists mainly of an address to the goddess herself, though its professed object is to celebrate the achievements of a runner named Ergoteles. This ode may be considered as the first formal appearance of Fortune on the stage of Greek literature. Under the title of 'Saving Fortune' (*Σώτειρα Τύχα*) she is hailed as the daughter of Zeus Eleutherius, and is invoked to protect Himera, seeing that ships at sea, battles by land, the counsels of the Agora, and the hopes and fears of men are all swayed by her power. It was under the same aspect, as the protectress of cities, that Pindar bestowed upon Fortune the epithet of *φερέπολις* (*Paus.* iv. 30. § 4).

2. **The tragedians.**—In Aeschylus, a junior contemporary of Pindar, *τύχη* is rather a form of Divine agency than itself a Divine agent. With this highly religious poet all is *αἶσα* or *νέμεσις* or *μοῖρα*, with Zeus as chief ruler. *Τύχη* hardly appears as a power of any consequence to mankind. In the *Choëphori* (783-5), 'Zeus, the father of the Olympian gods,' is invoked to bestow good luck (*ὁδὸς τύχας*; cf. *Sept.* 422). In *Sept.* (625) we have an express denial of the reality of chance:

θεοῦ δὲ δῶρόν ἐστιν εὐτυχεῖν βροτοῖς.

If we find in *Agam.* 664

τύχη δὲ σωτὴρ ναυστολοῦσ' ἐφέζετο,

it is only as an alternative for

θεὸς τις, οὐκ ἄνθρωπος, οἴακος θεῖον.

The only passage in which Fortune figures as an independent power is *Sept.* 426,

πύρροις δ' ἀπειλεῖ δεινὴ, ἃ μὴ κραινὸι τύχη,

which may be let pass as only a way of speaking,¹ which does not represent the true mind of the poet. Neither does Fortune bulk largely in the mental field of Sophocles. We have mention of *τύχη σωτὴρ* (*Ed. Tyr.* 80), but it is only in a passing phrase. The unhappy Iocasta, who proclaims the reign of Fortune and denies Providence (*ib.* 977 ff.)—

τί δ' ἂν φοβούτ' ἄνθρωπος ὧ τῆς τύχης
κρατεῖ, πρόναια δ' ἐστὶν οὐδενὸς σαφής;
εἰκὴ κράτιστον ζῆν, ὅπως δυνάτοί τις—

is soon convinced of her error; the noose seals her confession that Fate is more than Fortune, and that some intelligent, but inexorable, power rules

¹ For other allusions to *τύχη* by Aeschylus, see *Agam.* 333; *Prom. Vinc.* 375; *Pers.* 602; *Supp.* 380, 523.

the lives of men. Œdipus, flushed with his unparalleled successes, proclaims himself the son of Fortune, the giver of good, and is therefore prepared to face with equanimity the possible revelation of a low origin (*ib.* 1080 f.):

ἐγὼ δ' ἔμαυτὸν παῖδα τῆς Τύχης νέμων
τῆς εὐ δίδουσης οὐκ ἀνιμασθήσομαι.

But the actual revelation is such as to render the light unendurable to him, and it makes the chorus moralize on how man's prosperity 'never continueth in one stay.' This might be taken as illustrating the power of Fortune; yet it is not Fortune but Fate, since it has all been foretold. With Sophocles, as with Æschylus, the religious view prevails, and fortune is nothing but the mode of action of the gods (*Philoct.* 1316):

ἀνθρώποισι τὰς μὲν ἐκ θεῶν
τύχας δοθείσας ἔστ' ἀναγκαῖον φέρειν.¹

It is not till we come to Euripides, 'the rationalist,' that Fortune appears as a rival power to that of the gods. Euripides was a man of a religious cast of mind, but he was unable to accept the contradictions of the established theology, and he gave voice to the new science and the new philosophy of the Periclean age, as Tennyson did to that of the 19th century. The antithesis between Zeus and Fortune is strongly brought out in a passage of the *Hecuba* (488-91), where Talthybius, finding the ex-queen of Troy lying in the dust, exclaims:

ὦ Ζεῦ, τί λέξω; πότῃρά σ' ἄνθρωπος οὐραν,
ἢ δόξαν ἄλλους τήνδ᾽ κεκτῆσθαι μάτην,
φενδῇ, δοκοῦντας δαυμόνων εἶναι γένος,
τύχῃ δὲ πάντα τὰν βροτοῖς ἐπισκοπεῖν;

Talthybius does not decide the point, neither does the poet himself,—he was not an atheist, but a sceptic,—but his language is loaded with a triple tautology, as if to emphasize the apparent falseness of the notion that there is an over-ruling Divine will discernible in the course of human affairs. Chance, it is suggested, is the true bishop of the diocese of man.²

With the elder dramatists we found that there was a tendency to resolve chance into Divine agency; with Euripides the tendency is to resolve Divine agency into chance.³ If the gods do preside over the cauldron of human destiny, they throw in confusion, 'in order that in our ignorance we may worship them' (*Hec.* 960). In Euripides, too, we become aware of a change in the conception of *τύχη*. With Sophocles, as with his predecessors, *τύχη*, so far as it was a power at all, was a benign power, and meant definitely 'good fortune,' so that there was no need to add the epithet *ἀγαθή*. But with the lachrymose Euripides, *τύχη* became the personification of Ill Fortune. 'Alas!' says Agamemnon (*Hec.* 785), 'What woman was ever so unfortunate?' 'There is none,' replies Hecuba, 'unless you were to speak of Tyche herself.' Also, apart from personification, the word *τύχη* is used by Euripides in a bad sense (*Herac.* 714):

ἦν δ' οὖν, ὃ μὴ γένοιτο, χρήσονται τύχῃ;

With later writers this was usual only when the word was employed in the plural. *Τύχαι* properly means no more than 'turns of chance.' But man looks upon good fortune as his right, and so attends more to the changes for the worse.⁴ The successors of Euripides went further than he did himself. Chæremôn, a tragic poet who flourished about 380 B.C., answers the question asked by Talthybius

¹ For passing mentions of *τύχη* by Sophocles, see *Aj.* 485, 803; *Ed. Tyr.* 773, 776; *Ant.* 996, 1158, 1182; *Trach.* 724; *Phil.* 546, 1096.

² Cf. a passage quoted by Stobæus, *Ecl.* i. 196:

Ἡ τὰ θυγῶν καὶ τὰ θεῖα πάντ' ἐπισκοποῦσα [μὲν]
καὶ νέμους' ἡμῶν ἐκώστω τὴν κατ' ἀξίαν τύχην
μερίδα.

By throwing in the words κατ' ἀξίαν, the writer, unless he is speaking ironically, makes chance into Providence.

³ See especially *Hec.* 711-715, 1137-1143; *Hec.* 956-60.

⁴ Other passages in Euripides bearing on fortune are *Alc.* 785; *Herac.* 666.

in a sense unfavourable to Zeus and his coadjutors (*Stob. Ecl.* i. 202):

πάντων τύραννος ἡ τύχη 'στί τῶν θεῶν,
τὰ δ' ἄλλ' οὐδέματα ταῦτα πρόσκειται μάτην,
μόνη διοικεῖν οὖν πάντα βούλεται.

To the same effect speaks the comic poet Menander, who exhibited his first play in 321 B.C., the year which followed the death of Demosthenes and of Aristotle. The words of Menander seem to be intentionally directed against the philosophical doctrine of Providence (*Stob. Ecl.* i. 194):

τύχη κυβερνᾷ πάντα, ταῖσιν καὶ φρένας
δεῖ καὶ πρόνοιαν τὴν θεῶν καλεῖν μόνην,
εἰ μὴ τις ἄλλως δυνάσασιν χαίρει κενοῖς.

The conviction that Chance is the real arbiter of the life of man reappears long afterwards in Lucian. In his Council of the Gods, Momus is made to lay a complaint before Zeus with regard to the way in which Heaven is becoming peopled by aliens, such, for instance, as Mithras the Mede. But the most absurd part of it all, adds Momus in conclusion, is that certain empty names of things which have no substantial existence, such as Virtue, Nature, Destiny (*Εὐκαιμένη*), and Chance, are being set up as deities. Though these are mere figments of philosophers, yet they succeed in withdrawing their worshippers from the gods; for men are convinced that, though they were to sacrifice a thousand hecatombs, yet Chance will perform the part of Fate (*τὰ μεμοραμένα*) and give to each what was spun to him from the beginning.

3. The historians. — Among the historians, Herodotus is too much occupied with the religious view of life to leave any real efficacy to Fortune. He sees everywhere the hand of God in history. Sometimes this action is moral, as in the story of how Glaucus, who had entertained the thought of appropriating a deposit, had not a single descendant left to perpetuate his name in Sparta (*vi.* 86). Sometimes it is merely capricious. There is a jealous God, who will not allow even big beasts to 'fancy themselves' (*φαντάζεσθαι*), but has a thunderbolt ready to hurl at them. This God acts on the same principle as was enjoined by Thrasybulus upon Periander, and docks every head that overtops the rest (*vii.* 10). It has been well remarked by F. Allgère that Tyche is in part a protest against the malevolence of the Olympian deities. It was something to have a power which was purely non-moral, and which, if it rewarded without merit, was at least free from malignity when it caused disaster. With Herodotus, Fortune is a sign of the present favour of the Immortals,¹ but,

'When haughty power mounts high,
The watcher's axe is high.'

A rigorous consistency must not, indeed, be demanded from the chatty and charming Ionian. He gives us views of all sorts. The same Artabanus, who is made to dilate on the jealousy of God, also offers the following highly sensible remarks—that good counsel is the best thing; for, even if it be worsted by Fortune, its goodness is not impaired, whereas he who has counselled ill, even if Fortune attend upon him, has only made a find (*εὕρημα εὕρηκε*).

Although Thucydides came into the world only 13 years later than Herodotus,² yet in turning from the one to the other we are passing at one bound from the theological to the positive stage of thought. Thucydides makes Pericles say, or appear to say (for the passage admits of different interpretations), that there may be a real unintelligibility in the march of events, as there is in the processes of human thought,³ 'wherefore we are accustomed to ascribe to chance whatever takes

¹ i. 124: ὃ παῖ Καμβύσιος, σὲ γὰρ θεοὶ ἐπορεύοντο· οὐ γὰρ ἂν κοτε εἰς τοσοῦτον τύχην ἀπῆκεν.

² Herodotus was born in 484 B.C.; Thucydides, in 471.

³ i. 140. § 3: ἐνδέχεται γὰρ τὰς ἐνυμφόρας τῶν πραγμάτων οὐχ ἥσσαν ἀμαθὺς χωρήσαι ἢ καὶ τὰς διανοίας τοῦ ἀνθρώπου.

place contrary to reason.' If anything can be shown to have a definite cause, then it does not come under the domain of chance. That name is reserved for those events for which we are unable to assign a cause. Chance constitutes the irrational, or at all events inscrutable, element in things, which is not under the control of human forethought. Τύχη is now no longer a person, but a statement of fact. There are certain events for which no cause can be assigned. These it is convenient to throw together under the head of τύχη. This meaning of the term was facilitated by the use of τυγχάνειν as a mere auxiliary verb—τυγχάνω περιπατῶν, 'I am walking,' ἐτόγχανον περιπατῶν, 'I was walking,' and so on. So generally τύχη meant what *was*, without question raised as to how it came to be. If one had insisted on raising this question and getting an answer from Thucydides, he might perhaps have referred one to Divine agency. At least he makes the Melians declare that they rested their trust not to be defeated τῇ μὲν τύχῃ ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ (v. 104), seeing that their cause was just.

4. The orators.—In the orators we may expect to get nearer to the heart of the people than in a scientific thinker like Thucydides. For the orator, who has to play upon the feelings of the multitude, must share those feelings himself, or at least seem to do so. Let us take the greatest of them—Demosthenes. He is full of passages on the power of Fortune,¹ as well he might be, seeing that his own 'best-laid schemes' went 'aft agley.' It was the touch of truth in the reproach brought against him by his rival Æschines, that he was an unlucky statesman, which gave it its sting. Æschines (*in Ctes.* § 157, p. 76) warned the Athenians against the 'evil genius and ill fortune which ever dogged the footsteps of the man.' Demosthenes himself displayed a secret distrust in his own luck, when he got his friends to put their names to his decrees, instead of signing them with his own.² But in his public speeches he put a bold face on the matter. He had done all that in him lay; if fortune thwarted him, he was not to blame (*de Cor.* § 303). But it was absurd to attribute the disasters of the State to his personal fortune. Nor was the fortune of the State itself really bad. For the Athenian State had the advantage over other States of having played the nobler part, and yet being better off than they. But Athens had to take her share in the general blast of ill-fortune which was then blowing over mankind—with the exception, we must suppose, of Philip (*de Cor.* §§ 253, 254, p. 311). This curious conception of a hierarchy of 'fortunes'—that of individuals, of States, and of mankind in general—is in accordance with the genius of polytheism, and throws light on the manifold worship of Fortune public and private, which became more prevalent as time went on.

5. The philosophers.—Anaximenes (544 B.C.) made a very shrewd remark when he said: 'We are wont to apply the term "fortune" to the element in life which is incalculable to man. For, if we always went right in our judgments, the name of Fortune would never have been heard of' (Stob. *Ecl.* ii. 346). We get a very slighting estimate of the power of Fortune in what may perhaps be deemed an unexpected quarter. Democritus (430 B.C.) is quoted as saying (Stob. *Ecl.* ii. 344):

'Men have framed for themselves an image of Fortune by way

of apology for their own ill counsel. For Fortune does not oppose wisdom much, but the quick-witted and clear-sighted man guides most things in life aright.'

With regard to the power of Fortune, Epicurus speaks as contemptuously as his predecessor, in language which seems to be modelled on his.¹ In the fourth book of the *Laws*, Plato's Athenian stranger is on the point of saying that 'pretty nearly all human affairs are a matter of chance.' He corrects himself, however, and substitutes the formula that 'God, indeed, governs all things; but, under God, chance and opportunity (τύχη καὶ καιρός) are the pilots in all that relates to man,' this again being amended by the addition of 'art' to 'chance and opportunity,' as being more polite (ἡμερώτερον). But, when we reach the tenth book, which is Plato's great and final pronouncement on matters theological, we find a very different value assigned to art (τέχνη). He starts from the view held by some people that 'all things which come into being, or have come, or yet shall come,' are due to three causes, Nature, Chance, and Art—the more important, such as the four elements and the constitution of the universe, being ascribed to the first two, Nature and Chance, and the less important to the last, namely Art. He then goes on to show that the soul is the only thing that moves itself, and must therefore be the cause of all becoming. Now, soul is either good or evil, wise or devoid of wisdom. It is impiety to say that the orderly movements of the universe are caused by an evil and unwise soul; we are therefore compelled to conclude that they are produced by one or more souls possessed of perfect virtue (§98 C). But, if soul be prior to body, then the things of the soul are prior to those of the body. And, as art is one of the things of the soul, we are thus brought to a Divine artificer more exact and painstaking than any human workman, and one therefore who will not neglect small matters any more than great. In this cosmos of the beneficent soul (§96 E), what room is left for chance? Plainly there is none. Chance then—Plato does not say this, but we may say it for him—must lurk in the chaos which precedes the cosmos, where dwells the evil soul of disorder.

If we turn now to Aristotle, we shall find, as usual, the same thing said, only in less theological language. After giving us in the *Physics* (ii. 3) his famous fourfold division of causes, into Material, Formal, Efficient, and Final, he goes on to say that Chance also and Spontaneity (ii. 4: καὶ ἡ τύχη καὶ τὸ αὐτόματον) are reckoned among causes. How then do they come in, and are they synonymous, or are they not? First, let it be observed that a thing is due to chance, not if it have not an efficient, but if it have not a final, cause—in other words, if it be not intended. A man who is not in the habit of going to market goes thither on a particular occasion, and meets another man who takes the opportunity of paying him a debt. This, we say, is due to chance. It is the kind of thing that might have been done on purpose, only in this case it was not. Each of the two persons has his own particular cause for going to market, and the payment of the debt results from the conjunction of the two, as a kind of by-product. Thus Chance (τύχη) is something within the sphere of mind or human agency which is not due to that agency. And, as Chance is to Man, so is Spontaneity to Nature. When some effect which might be produced by Nature is not produced by Nature, then we say that it took place spontaneously. It is not necessary here to discuss the question of Spontaneity. But, with regard to Chance, let it be observed that Aristotle finds the source of it in undesigned collocations.

¹ See Stob. ii. 354, which may be emended from Cic. *de Fin.* i. § 63.

¹ *Olynth.* ii. § 22, p. 24: μεγάλη γὰρ ῥοπή, μάλλον δὲ τὸ δλον ἡ τύχη παρὰ πάντ' ἐστὶ τὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων πράγματα; *de Pace*, § 11, p. 59: δι' εὐτυχίαν, ἣν συνίπασις ἐὼς τῆς ἐν ἀνθρώποις οὐσίας δεινότητος καὶ σοφίας ὅρῳ κρατούσας.

² Plut. *Vit. Dem.* 21: τοῖς δὲ ψηφίσασιν οὐχ ἑαυτῶν, ἀλλ' ἐν μέρει τῶν φίλων ἑκάστου ἐπεγράφη, ξειωνιζόμενος τὸν ἴδιον δαίμονα καὶ τὴν τύχην.

LITERATURE.—Stobæus, *Eclog. Phys. et Eth.* lib. i. cap. 6, *περί τύχης ἢ ταυτομάτου*; F. Allègre, *Étude sur la déesse grecque Tyche*, Paris, 1892—an admirable and exhaustive monograph; L. Preller, *Gr. Mythologie*, ed. Carl Robert, Leipzig, 1894, pp. 539–544; O. Gruppe, *Gr. Mythol. u. Religionsgesch.*, Munich, 1906, Index, s.v. 'Tyche.'

ST. GEORGE STOCK.

FORTUNE (Iranian).—The concept of fortune in the sense of chance or good luck finds little place in the Avesta and Pahlavi texts. A happy wife is termed 'fortunate' (*hubagha*) in *Visp.* ii. 7, but neither this nor the frequent word *ustā*, 'weal,' 'good fortune' (lit. 'according to wish'), can be regarded as referring to good luck in the common acceptance of the term (cf. the passages listed by Bartholomæe, *Altiran. Wörterb.*, Strassburg, 1904, col. 417 f.). Nevertheless, there are a few passages which seem relevant in this connexion. Success and fortune (*upemā bagemā*) are objects of reverential honour (*Yast* xv. 1), as is also the everlasting and boundless progress of events according to one's wish (*vispāyūm . . . ustatēm akarānem*), which it is the torture of the wicked not to enjoy (*Visp.* xviii. 2). Supplication is offered to the Fravashis (*q.v.*) for all boons (*ayaptanām vispanām* [*Yast* xiii. 135]), who grant them when prayed for (*ib.* 24), as do Ardvi Sura Anāhita (*ib.* v. *passim*), Tīstīrya (*ib.* viii. 49), Drvāspa (*ib.* ix. *passim*), Miθra (*ib.* x. 33), Vayu (*ib.* xv. *passim*), Aśi (*ib.* xvii. *passim*), and Xsathra Vairya (*Vend.* xx. 3). Boons are invoked upon Vištāspa by Zoroaster (*Yast* xxiv. 46), while Atar (the Fire) prays (*ib.* 38) on behalf of the same monarch: 'May the Appointer and Distributor bring to thee a boon' (*upabarat āyaptem baxtača nīvaxtača*), the allusion probably being to Ahura Mazda. According to the 9th cent. *Sikand-Gūmānik Vījār*, iv. 8, 29 (tr. West, *SBE* xxiv. 128, 130), heaven (*spīhār*) is the place of the Divinities (*baghān*), who are 'the distributors of happiness (*nēvakih baxtārān*), from which they always justly bestow their distribution of every happiness.' In conformity with this, Haoma granted his four first worshippers the heroic sons Yima, Thraētaona, Urvāxsaya and Keresāspa, and Zarathuštra (*Yasna* ix. 4, 7, 10, 13); and the obtaining of boons is the direct reward for pious observance of religious duties (*Yast* xxiv. 25).

Among the people it would seem that fortune played a larger rôle than in the official religion, for *baxta*, 'fortune' (also 'fate'; see FATE [Iranian]), occurs as a component of a number of proper names (*Justi, Iran. Namenbuch*, Marburg, 1895, pp. 61 f., 487 f.):

Baxtāfrīt ('blessed by fortune'), Baxtāvār ('fortunate'), Baxtīyār ('possessing fortune'), Baxtīśāh ('fortunate king'), Azādbaxt ('possessed of the fortune of the free-born'), Bīdārbaxt ('possessed of watchful fortune'), Dārābaxt ('having the fortune of Darius'), Juvānbaxt ('possessed of young [i.e. sturdy] fortune'), Hūbaxt ('having good fortune'), Xurāmbaxt ('possessed of joyous fortune'), Nāubaxt ('having fortune [ever] new'), Nekbaxt ('possessed of fair fortune'), Šādbaxt ('to whom fortune is friendly'), Siġuftānbaxt ('he whose fortune has bloomed'), Sultānbaxt ('possessed of the fortune of a sultān'), Vadhbaxt ('possessed of evil fortune'), and Zādbaxt ('fortunate through the birth [of a son]).

Yet it must be confessed that the concept neither of Fortune nor of Fate (*q.v.*) was encouraged by Zoroastrianism. In the ceaseless conflict of good with evil, which human and super-human beings alike must wage, there was little room for mere chance. Such fortune as the Iranian might crave—and all that he might have—was such as his own efforts could win; and the most besides that he might hope for were those boons which Ahura Mazda and his minor Divinities might vouchsafe their pious worshipper and fellow-combatant against Ahriman and his forces of evil.

Side by side with fortune went misfortune, not alone for the wicked who merited it, but even for the good. Why the wicked so often flourish in this world while the righteous suffer woe is answered

by ascription of both good and evil fortune to Fate by the *Dinā-ī Mānōg-ī Xrat* (li., tr. West, *SBE* xxiv. 93 f.). A more orthodox answer, and one more in accord with the Zoroastrian spirit, though not without a fatalistic touch, is given in the *Dālistān-ī Dinik* (vi., tr. West, *SBE* xviii. 23–25), which first states that this state of affairs is more apparent than real, for

'not at every time and every place, and not to all the good, does evil happen more—for the spiritual welfare of the good is certainly more—but in the world it is very much more manifest' (§ 2).

The treatise then goes on to say that

'the labour and trouble of the good are much more in the world, and their reward and recompense are more certain in the spiritual existence; and the comfort and pleasure of the vile are more in the world, and their pain and punishment in the spiritual existence are more severe. And this, too, is the case, that the good, through fear of the pain and punishment of hell, should forsake the comfort and ease in the world, and should not think, speak, or do anything improper whatever. And through hope for the comfort and pleasure in heaven they should accept willingly, for the neck [i.e. as a yoke], much trouble and fear in the practice of virtue in thought, word, and deed. The vile, through provision with temporary enjoyment—even that enjoyment of improprieties for which eventually there is hell—then enjoy themselves therein temporarily, and lustfully on account of selfishness; those various actions also, through which there would be a way to heaven, they do not trouble themselves with. And in this way, in the world, the comfort and pleasure of the vile are more, and the anxiety, vexation, dependency, and distress of the good have become more; the reason is revealed by the stars.'

LOUIS H. GRAY.

FORTUNE (Jewish).—God's free interference in human affairs is one of the cardinal doctrines of the OT. To His causation as rewarding or punishing are ascribed all the happy and unhappy experiences in human life. There is therefore no Hebrew equivalent for *Fortuna*. Leah's exclamation, נָנִי, Gn 30¹¹, rendered in LXX *ἐν τύχῃ*, should be translated 'by the help of Gad' (cf. נִבְאָרִי, v. 13, and *HDB*, art. 'Gad'), a divinity of fortune supposed to have been worshipped in Laban's household (see FORTUNE [Biblical and Christian]). Post-exilic Judaism further developed the doctrine of Divine compensation. Ezekiel was the first to teach its application to individual no less than to national life. The fundamental doctrine of the Wisdom literature is that piety is remunerated in this life.

The gist of the book of Tobit is that all ends well, and better than before, because a righteous man is rewarded for his merit. The Mishna *Pe'ā*, i. 1, which is repeated in the daily Morning Prayer, sees in the observance of certain commandments a profitable investment, 'the interest of which a man enjoys in this world, while the capital remains intact in the world to come.' In *Kid. 39b* we read: 'Whosoever keeps one commandment is rewarded (in this world), his days are prolonged, and he will inherit the earth.' Cf. *Pirke Ab. iv. 11*: 'Whosoever keeps the Law in the midst of poverty shall eventually keep it in the midst of wealth.'

Likewise, a state of adversity is not a mere sport of fickle fortune, but an exercise of Divine judgment. God deals with man in a judicial manner, יָדָה בְּקֶרֶךְ, 'measure for measure.' To every transgression of the law an appropriate penalty is attached: 'With what measure one measures it shall be measured unto him' (*Sotā*, 8b). 'There is no death and no suffering without sin' (*Shab. 55a*). Frequently the correspondence between each manifestation of misfortune (so-called) and the particular sin which caused it is not evident; but it exists, and resignation is demanded of the sufferer. The Burial Service is called בְּרַחֲמֵי הַקֹּדֶם, the acknowledgment of the justice of the Divine judgment.¹ Some instances of misfortune are viewed as evident manifestations of Divine retribution. Thus bereavement is the penalty for broken vows, for neglect of the study of the Law and of certain ceremonies; domestic strife, premature birth, and death of children in infancy, for enmity without cause. For with-

¹ This is an ancient forensic term 'to plead guilty' (*Ber. 19a, Ta'an. 11a*). The Mish. *Sanh.* vi. 6 directs that after an execution the relatives and friends of the criminal should call on the judges and witnesses and acknowledge the justice of the decree.

holding tithes and other priestly dues comes failure of crops. Violence is punished by swarms of locusts and famine; perversion of justice by wars and pestilence; false swearing, blasphemy, and Sabbath-breaking by visitation of wild beasts, depopulation, and devastation; incest, idolatry, and neglect of duly observing the Sabbatical and Jubile years by exile; fornication by wounds, bruises, and the bite of serpents, etc. Dropsy is a token of immorality, jaundice of hatred without cause, poverty of pride and overbearing, croup of slander (*Shab. 32b* ff.). Bloodshed was the cause of the destruction of the Temple and driving the Shekhina away (*ib.*). Jerusalem was destroyed for neglect of Sabbath observance and of daily recitation of the *Shema*, for impudence, for despising school-children, for levelling classes, for not reproving each other for sin, for slighting the learned (*Shab. 119b*).

The manifold experiences of life, however, did not square with this doctrine of judicial retribution; and a problem was created which already tried OT saints (e.g. Ps 73). In the age of Koheleth, 'because sentence against an evil work was not executed speedily' or the righteous rewarded, evil was on the increase (*Ec 8¹¹*). The author himself did not know what to make of life. The problem must have been more trying during the religious persecution under Antiochus. A modification of the OT doctrine of retribution became necessary. A man's worth was not to be estimated by his fortunes and misfortunes. The true compensation was in another world. This faith supported the martyrs under persecution. It did not, however, entirely solve the problem to the legalist.

R. Yannai said: 'It is not in our power to explain the prosperity of the wicked and the suffering of the pious' (*Pirke Ab. iv. 15*). When Moses was on Mount Sinai to receive the Law, God revealed to him the greatness and martyrdom of R. Aḥiba. 'What, said Moses, such knowledge of the Law and such a reward! Hush, God replied, I have thus decreed it' (*Menach. 29b*).

To account for the inequalities of life with regard to nations and individuals, the Rabbis devised a theory which is a combination of OT views and that which relegates retribution to another world, according to which the prosperity of the wicked is a reward in this world for some merit, the punishment being reserved for the next world; the suffering of the righteous is to be regarded either as chastisement for some imperfections, or as a trial of their faith and constancy, or even as an atonement for others. For references to the Rab. literature on the subject, see Weber's *Jüd. Theol.*², Leipzig, 1897, ch. xx.

The spread of astrology all over the Roman Empire, its universal acceptance as an exact science, and its hold on the popular mind affected also Jewish folklore and introduced into the Judaism of the Talmudic period an attraction for the pagan doctrine of fortune. The term used for it is *mazzal*, Aram. מַזְלָא, *mazzala*, standing also for constellations of the zodiac and for planet. Since there is no record in the post-exilic age of a relapse into star-worship, the re-introduction of the term into the Jewish vocabulary should be traced back not to Babylonianism, but to contact with the 'Chaldeans,' astrologers and charlatans of the early Roman Empire. *Mazzal*, then, is not a divinity like Fortuna, but is either a 'station of the planet' at the time of a nativity or of some other event, or it signifies, in the late Magian sense, a *fravashi* (q.v.), the genius, guardian angel, 'external soul' of an individual. Another term is *gāḏ*, *gad*. Sometimes both are used, e.g. בִּישׁ גָּדָא וְיִמְיָא מַזְלָא (*bish gadda utmia mazzala*), 'thou of ill fortune and obscure planet' (*Koh. R. vii. 32*). But the use of the word was discouraged by the Rabbis because of its association with the god Gad of Is 65¹¹ (see RV).

Thus *Shab. 67b* forbids the repetition of the magic formula, גַּד גַּדְדִּי וְשִׁינִק לֵא, *gad gaddi v'sinuk la* = 'grant me fortune, O my Fortune, and relax not.' A place Gaddia ('fortunes') was kakophonized into *Gallia* ('dunghills'). *Mazzal* remained a Jewish word, and *mazzal tob* ('good luck') is still used as a formula of congratulation at births, weddings, the blessing of the new moon, and other occasions.

Mankind, then, has a mysterious connexion with the planets (*Targ. Ec 7¹⁵*). 'All depends on that connexion (*Mazzal*)' (*ib. 9¹⁻²*).

'Life, children, sustenance depend not on a man's merits, but on his *Mazzal*' (*Mo'ed Kat. 28a*). Every individual has a *Mazzal*. 'In the case of a sudden fright, if one does not see the cause of it, his *Mazzal* sees it' (*Meg. 3a*). 'The *Mazzal* makes wise; the *Mazzal* makes rich' (*Shab. 150a*). 'Every plant has a *Mazzal* in heaven, which influences it and bids it grow' (*Gen. R. 10*). 'Even the copy of the Law in the Synagogue chest is subject to the influence of *Mazzal*' (*Zohar Nitsa, 13b*). 'Animals, on the other hand, have no *Mazzal*' (*Shab. 53b*). 'The *Mazzal* sees neither what is before it, nor what is above it, but what is below it, like a man descending from a ladder with his face turned backwards' (*Num. R. 12*). 'The propitious hour recedes if pursued' (*Der. 61a*). The *Mazzal* of two is stronger than that of one (*B. Meg. 105b*).

Celestial phenomena came to be regarded as harbingers of good or of evil.

Thus an eclipse of the sun forebodes evil to the Gentiles and of the moon to the Jews, because the former reckon time by the sun, the latter by the moon. If the eclipse is in the east or west, it concerns the inhabitants of the respective places; but, if in mid-heaven, the portent refers to the whole world. A red sun is an omen of war, and a grey one of famine. If the eclipse is at sunset, the forthcoming evil will be delayed; if at sunrise, it is near at hand (*Suk. 29a*).

Some days were considered more fortunate for transacting business than others (*Sanh. 65b*). The corn of the year before a Jubile was supposed to be of finer quality (*ib.*). There were lucky and unlucky months.

'If an Israelite has a lawsuit with a Gentile, let him withdraw in the month of Ab because his *Mazzal* is weak, but let him present himself in the month of Adar when his *Mazzal* is strong' (*Taan. 29a*). Merit is imputed on a meritorious day, and guilt on a guilty day (*ib. 28b*). It is unlucky to submit to the operation of bleeding on a Tuesday, because on that day Mars reigns in the heavens. Mondays and Thursdays, too, are dangerous, but may be risked by those who have ancestral merits to shelter them. Friday should also be an unlucky day, but, since the multitude are accustomed to that day, 'the Lord preserveth the simple' (*Ps 110*). Wednesdays on the 4th, 14th, and 24th of the (lunar) month should be avoided. Likewise the new moon, the third of the month, and the eve of festivals are dangerous (*Shab. 129b*). The day of the new moon was regarded as unlucky for the transaction of business (*Sanh. 65*; *Sifre, 171*); so also Fridays. The *Shulch. Aruch Yore de'a, 179*, directs that one should not embark on a new venture on Mondays and Wednesdays. See also *Zohar* on *Pin'chas*. Tuesday is a lucky day, because on the first Tuesday the words 'that it was good' (*Gen 1¹⁰*) were repeated (*Pesach. 2*). Virgins marry on (the eve of) Wednesdays, and widows on Thursdays (*Keth. i. 1*). On the night of the Great Hosannah it is possible to ascertain whether one will survive the year by observing one's shadow on the wall. The shadow of the man destined to die will appear headless (current Jewish tradition). Nachmanides on Nu 14⁹ sees Scriptural allusion for this tradition, the words 'Your shadow is removed from over thee' (see RVin) being equivalent to 'doomed.'

The gifts and denials of fortune were considered beyond control. The fortunate was one 'on whom the hour was smiling' (*Ber. 7a*). He could risk being in dangerous situations. 'Thou art in luck,' said Abaye to his colleague R. Papa, 'the Demon (Keteb Meriri, who was then raging) could do thee no harm' (*Pesach. 115b*). The following pretty story deserves mention:

R. Joseph Mokir Shabbi (=Sabbath-respecter) is foretold by a 'Chaldean' that he will eventually obtain the enormous property of his rich neighbour. The latter sells his property and purchases a pearl of great price, which he keeps fastened in his turban. In a shipwreck he loses his turban. It is swallowed by a fish. After some time, at a fish market R. Joseph happens to be the only purchaser of fish in honour of the Sabbath, and comes into possession of the identical fish and the precious pearl (*Shab. 119a*).

Similarly the unlucky man regarded himself as hopeless. A brother of Raba in the agony of his last moments objected to prayers on his behalf as useless 'because he was delivered to his *Mazzal*' (*Mo'ed K. 28a*).

A change of circumstance may effect a change of fortune. A common saying among the Jews is *M'shanneh mafom M'shanneh mazzal* (מִשְׁנָה מַפּוֹם מִשְׁנָה מַזְלָא). In case of extreme illness the custom, based

on *R. Hash.* 17a, still prevails of changing the patient's name, generally into *Chaim*, signifying 'life,' or *Alter*, 'another.' In the formula said on the occasion (see p. 149 of the *Book of Life*, ed. B. H. Asher, London, 1863) occurs: 'And thus may his Mazzal be changed from evil to good,' etc. Many Rabbis asserted that Israel is not influenced by Mazzal (*Shab.* 156), but the belief in astrology was already common.

In the Middle Ages, Maimonides was perhaps the only one who wrote against a belief in fortune (*Yad Ab. Cochab.* xi. 8). On the other hand, that most talented Rabbi, Ibn Ezra, was the most superstitious. In the poem on his Evil Star he maintains that if he dealt in candles the sun would not set in his lifetime, and if in shrouds no one would die. Although this was written in jest, he lived up to the conviction of his ill fortune. He was himself the author of several works on Astrology.

LITERATURE.—See literature at the end of art. FATE (Jewish).

A. E. SUFFRIN.

FORTUNE (Roman).—It is not possible to follow out the history of the ideas which the Romans attached to this word with the same accuracy as in the case of Greece; for (1) the Romans have left us no literature earlier than the second half of the 3rd cent. B.C.; and (2) when Roman literature begins, it consists chiefly of translations or paraphrases from the Greek, and in it such Roman words as *fortuna* are apt to become modified in a Greek sense. We have no Italian Homer of whom we can say that the word for 'chance' is not to be found in him; we can only infer, and somewhat doubtfully, that, as the idea of a capricious force interfering in human affairs is a late growth in Hellas, so it may have been in Italy. Our treatment of the subject must begin with the *cult of Fortuna* at Rome and in Latium—about which we know something, though without any certainty of detail.

1. *Fortuna* is formed adjectivally from *fors*, as *Portunus* from *portus*, *Neptunus* from some word unknown to us; and *fors*, so far as we can guess from later literature, must have signified what we call luck, whether good or bad, i.e. the incalculable element in Nature and in human life. Not a capricious force, such as was expressed in later times by the word *temeritas* (Pacuvius *ap. Auct. ad. Herennium*, ii. 23), and in the literature of the Empire sometimes by *fortuna* (this is a semi-philosophical idea of which the early Romans could have known nothing), but the idea of luck or accident which is common to the minds and language of all peoples at all times without any reflexion or reasoning on the mysteries of human life. As *Portunus* was the spirit or deity presiding over doors and gates, so *Fortuna* must have been, for the early Latins, the deity presiding over the incalculable element in human life, not a mere personification of Chance itself. This distinction survived, more or less faintly, to a late period of Roman history. When *Nonius*, in the 3rd cent. A.D., wished to distinguish *fortuna* and *fors*, he wrote: '*Fortuna et fors hoc distant: fors est casus temporalis, fortuna dea est ipsa*' (*Nonius*, v. 15). The examples which he quotes from Accius' *Tragedies* do not show the distinction clearly, and are doubtless affected by the Greek original; but from the 13th book of *Lucilius' Satires* he cites the line '*Aut forte omnino aut Fortuna vincere bello*,' where it is plain that *Fortuna* is conceived as something beyond and above mere chance. So in the famous passage of Pacuvius already quoted (to which we shall return), the last five lines contrast *Fortuna* with *temeritas*, blind chance:

'Sunt etiam alii philosophi qui contra Fortunam negant ullam extare, temeritate enim autumant esse omnia: id magis verisimile esse usus reapse experiendo docet. velut Orestes modo fuit rex, factus mendicium modo naufragio: nempe ergo id fluctu, haut forte fortuna optigit.'

And the author who quotes the lines (Cornificius, as the Germans call him) adds: '*nam hic Pacuvius infirma ratione utitur, quom aiit verius esse temeritate quam Fortuna res regi*,' etc. *Fortuna* perhaps never wholly lost the meaning of a power presiding over luck, which might be propitiated by human beings, or assisted by them in her operations: thus *Cæsar*, after his defeat at *Dyrhachium*, told his soldiers that '*fortunam esse industria sublevandam*' (*de Bell. Civ.* iii. 73).

This point will be more fully illustrated below, so far as it appears in Roman literature. But it is also strongly suggested by the earliest worship of *Fortuna* in Latium. Experts are all agreed that at Rome *Fortuna* was not an indigenous deity; she did not belong to what has been called 'the religion of Numa,' i.e. the earliest form of the organized religion of the State as indicated in the religious calendar (see art. ROMAN RELIGION, *Introd.*); universal tradition ascribed her introduction to *Servius Tullius*, a king of foreign extraction, and the traditional representative of the plebeian element as distinguished from the old patrician *gentes* and their religious worships; and her earliest temples were outside the *pomerium*—a sure sign of extra-Roman origin (see *Wissowa, Zelt. und Kultus der Römer*², p. 256). The most ancient seats of her worship in Latium were at *Præneste* and *Antium*; and here such facts as we know point clearly to a deity who has a controlling power over men's fortunes, rather than one who simply represents luck good or bad. In each of these sites there was an *oraculum Fortunæ*; and oracles, however simple and primitive, are never associated with the idea of blind chance, but are the result of human experience, which marks special sites with special Divine inhabitants as suited to resolve the uncertainty which besets human life at every turn. That uncertain element the Latins expressed by the word *fors*; *Fortuna*, as has already been said, was the deity presiding over *fors*, and therefore capable of foretelling the future. This is the true meaning, then, of the Latin *Fortuna*; it is not till the time of *Servius* that we hear of a *Fors Fortuna*,—a combination quite in keeping with Roman religious usage, but probably indicating a degenerate offshoot from the original Latin stock.

That stock, if we examine it as it appears at *Præneste*, where we have some little knowledge of it, may have been touched by Greek influences at a very early period, but the Latin conception of *Fortuna* can hardly have been seriously affected. The cult-title of the goddess here was *Primigenia*, which must mean 'first-born'; and that she was or came to be regarded as the first-born daughter of *Jupiter* is made certain by an inscription of great antiquity, first published in 1892 (*CIL* xiv. 2863): '*Orceria Numeri nationu cratia Fortuna Divo filei primocenia donom dedi*' (see *Fowler, Roman Festivals*, p. 223 ff.). Here a woman presents an offering to *Fortuna*, the first-born daughter of *Jupiter*, for help in childbirth (*nationu cratia*); she had no doubt consulted the oracle, which here, as elsewhere in Italy, foretold the future by means of lots (*sortes*) mixed together by a boy before he drew one. Now, it is true that this anthropomorphic conception of the deity as daughter of *Jupiter* is foreign to old Italian ideas, and, as *Præneste* was undoubtedly exposed to the invasion of foreign cults at a very early period, it is highly probable that *Fortuna* had here taken on some of the characteristics of the Greek *Tyche* or *Nemesis*; but this could not well have been the case if the nature of the original Latin deity had not been of such a kind as to suggest or allow a connexion with *Jupiter*. But *Jupiter* is of all Italian deities the one who can least be associated with anything in the nature of blind chance; and we

are justified in conjecturing that this Fortuna was a Power believed to govern the destinies of women in childbirth, perhaps also of the children to be born. Fortuna was at all times more especially a woman's deity, as her many cult-titles clearly show; and adjoining her great temple at Præneste, as Cicero tells us (*de Div.* ii. 85), was another also dedicated to her, which was especially frequented by matrons; here there was a statue of her with two children in her lap, popularly (but no doubt wrongly) believed to be Jupiter and Juno (see Wissowa, *op. cit.* p. 259; Fowler, *op. cit.* p. 224 ff.).

So far, then, as we have any evidence on the question, it would seem that the name Fortuna did not suggest to the primitive Latin any idea of blind chance as a ruling factor in the world. Like all Latin *numina*, she was a power to whom, among the changes and chances of this mortal life, appeal might be made for help, especially by women. Not, of course, every change or chance; there never was, as Wissowa says (p. 261), at any rate during the Republican period, a Fortuna who was a general deity of luck; but in course of time, specialized and localized under various cult-titles, she came to express the hopes of Roman men and women in relation to particular activities or critical moments. It is probable that the cult of Fors Fortuna, already mentioned, was connected with the work of harvest; the dedication-day of the temple, which was beyond the Tiber, was 24th June, when that work would be largely completed; and we have the evidence of Columella (x. 316) that after a successful harvest the praises of this deity were sung. The other temple attributed to Servius, in the Forum Boarium, was certainly that of a woman's deity, who seems to have been identical with Mater Matuta, and also with the Pudicitia of Livy, x. 23 (Wissowa, 257). *Fortuna muliebris*, connected traditionally with the story of Coriolanus and the persuasive power of Roman matrons, might be worshipped only by women once married (Dion. Hal. viii. 56), and may therefore have been the spirit believed to guarantee good luck in legitimate wedlock. *Fortuna virilis* was also a woman's deity, more especially of the lower orders, and was supposed to bring good luck in connubial relations (Fowler, *op. cit.* p. 68). At the end of the Hannibalic war, the great deity of Præneste was transplanted to Rome, probably after successful recourse to her oracle, which so far the Roman State had declined to use; but transplanted cults seldom retain exactly their original characters, and here we find the beginning of the *Fortuna publica populi Romani*, of which we hear so much in later times. Fortuna tends in the later Republic to become a kind of good genius of particular acts and times: *Fortuna hujusce diei* is the unknown *numen* in whose charge are the events of a particular day; *Fortuna equestris* is the good luck of the Roman cavalry, and so on. The idea became popular; innumerable Fortunes came into existence (see a list in Plutarch, *de Fortuna Romanorum*, 10); and, as the Greek conception of *τύχη* became more familiar to the educated Roman mind, Fortuna lost in purity and dignity what she gained in popular favour.

There is thus in the early history of the worship of Fortuna nothing to suggest that the virile and persistent Roman ever believed himself or his State to be at the mercy of chance. Such an idea would, indeed, have been utterly inconsistent both with his character and with his conception of his relation to the gods, who in his view, so far from being capricious, were always open to supplication, and practically bound to yield to it if approached in precisely the right way. The only right way was known to the religious authorities of the

State, and in placing himself entirely in their hands the Roman believed himself to be perfectly safe in all matters which lay outside the sphere of his own will and his own activity. But assuredly he never minimized the importance of that will and activity—*virtus*, as he called it. The *fortuna Romanorum* is a late idea, not to be traced further back than Polybius, and in him, as we shall see, by no means definitely conceived; it was by *virtus* and *pietas*, strenuous endeavour and a sense of duty, that the Romans of later days believed their forefathers to have conquered the world.

2. In the scanty remains of the earliest Roman literature, offspring though it was of a sceptical Greek age, we find nothing to suggest that the Tyche of Euripides and his successors had gained a footing in Italy. *Fortuna*, it is true, as well as *fors*, has come to mean the incalculable in human affairs, and in this sense was used throughout all later Roman literature; but we have distinct traces of the true Roman feeling that 'fortunam esse industria sublevandam.' One of the *sententiae* of Appius Claudius Cæcus (c. 300 B.C.) is the famous saying, 'Est unusquisque faber ipse suae fortunae' (here *fortuna* has partly the sense, which never left it, of prosperous condition, wealth); and in the *Annals* of Ennius (i. 172 [Bærens]) we find the perennial proverb, 'fortibus est fortuna viris data.' So again, old Cato, in his *Origines* (quoted by Gellius, iii. 7), wrote that the gods give a soldier 'fortunam ex virtute.' Such sayings fairly neutralize commonplaces like—

'Multa dies in bello conficit unus
Et rursus multae fortunae forte recumbunt;
Haudquaquam quemquam semper fortuna secuta est'
(Ennius, *Ann.* i. 195).

In Plautus and Terence the use of *fortuna* and its compounds in the ordinary sense of luck or chance is constant, but not even the influence of the Greek original ever suggests the elimination of human endeavour, unless where, as in *Captivi*, ii. ii. 54, or *Pseudolus*, ii. iii. 14, the chances of war as bringing captivity and slavery are reflected from the unhealthy conditions of Greek life in the post-Alexandrian period. In Cato's book *de Agricultura*, the only complete prose work we possess of the period following the Hannibalic war, *fortuna* is not once alluded to. Disintegrating as the consequences of that war were to the old Roman character, they could not all at once obliterate the sense of the need of strenuous human endeavour, and they may have added to it the first intuition of the idea of the destiny of Rome, her mission to rule the world, which remains immortalized in the *Æneid*. In spite of an attempt to introduce Epicureanism early in the century, the better minds at Rome kept clear of any degrading doctrine of chance, with its corollaries of individual selfishness and *laissez faire*.

3. This better tendency was upheld and confirmed by the presence and influence at Rome of two Greeks of great ability, personal friends of Scipio the younger, sympathetic admirers of the Roman spirit—*Panaetius* the Stoic philosopher, and *Polybius* the philosophic historian. It is hardly possible to exaggerate the importance of these two men, and especially of Panaetius, as guides to the Roman mind in beginning to reason on the facts of life; and their opinions of the power of Fortune must here be briefly explained. Greeks as they were, they form an integral part of the history of Roman thought.

Both of these men belonged to the Stoic school, but their Stoic doctrines were curiously tempered so as to harmonize with the Roman character, and they were no doubt directly influenced by their knowledge of that character and of the extra-

ordinary progress of the Roman State in the last two centuries. In each we find the freedom of man's will fully acknowledged, and his dependence on his own active endeavour emphasized. Cicero, in his *de Officiis* (ii. 6 ff.), has reproduced the view of Panætius on this point. The passage is an emphatic assertion of the power of man to work out his own fortune by his own reason and will. Not that chance is wholly excluded; 'magnam vim esse in fortuna in utramque partem, vel secundas ad res, vel adversas, quis ignorat?' (ii. 6. 19). Accidents will happen which could by no human means have been avoided; but these are comparatively rare, and by far the greater part of the good or bad fortune that may happen to a man, in spite of the element of chance that is always present, is mainly dependent on 'hominum opes et studia.' So far from sitting down passively to take what fortune brings him, the duty of man is here declared to be the free use of his reason and will in modifying for his own advantage and that of his fellow-men the conditions under which he lives (see Schmekel, *Phil. der mittl. Stoa*, p. 194). It was in accordance with this common-sense view of life that Panætius rejected all divination, thus breaking with the older Stoic view, and also with the traditional Roman practice—a fact which was of great importance for the Romans of the last cent. B.C. The more the philosopher exalts the position of man in Nature, the less need will he ascribe to him of such methods for securing himself in the future.

Polybius was not a professed philosopher, but his mind was a philosophic one, and in his treatment of history it is extremely interesting to note his view of Fortune. He works out his own ideas of historical causation independently, and from the practical standpoint of a statesman and a historian, and we cannot expect him to be always precise or consistent. But it is quite clear that he uses the word *τύχη* mainly in two senses: (1) *in modum vulgi*, where he is ignorant of the cause of a phenomenon (e.g. ii. 70. 2, ii. 38. 5, viii. 22. 10, xv. 6. 8, and many other passages); when he knows the cause he never uses the word, and, as he is always seeking out the facts of causation, his attitude is strictly scientific. We may be sure that he did not really believe in capricious Divine interference, in Nemesis, or in blind chance. (2) *Τύχη* expresses an agent or power working to a definite end, as in i. 4, of the force which has brought about the growth of Roman dominion. Here he certainly does not mean chance; no caprice is suggested in the work of this force; it comes near the *φύσις* of bk. vi. (iv. 11. 9. x. 57. 1), which he invokes, when in a more strictly scientific mood, to explain the regular and natural succession of political constitutions. And this 'Nature' of bk. vi. is not far removed from the Stoic idea of Fate, Destiny (*ἡ εἰμαμένη*); but as used by a historian it must not be pressed to a philosophical dogma. He uses it much as the modern historian is apt to use the word 'evolution,' to express the natural course of events, without perhaps meaning anything very definite by it. One thing is certain, that both the *τύχη* and the *φύσις* of Polybius can include human agency; the human will is free for him as for Panætius, and, though man is subject to Nature, Destiny, or whatever it be called, yet he is a part of this himself, and can use his reason to shape his course. A good example is in bk. x. 5, §§ 7 and 9, where historians are blamed for attributing the successes of the great Scipio to Fortune, instead of to his own character and genius; cf. i. 35, iii. 31 *ad fin.*, and a very interesting passage in xxxvii. 9. (See the writer's article on this subject in *CLL*

xvii. [1903] 445 ff., from which a few sentences have here been quoted.)

Assuredly there was nothing in the writings of these two remarkable men to undermine the Roman sense of *virtus*, or to lead to that popular idea of the caprice of Fortune which we shall meet with soon, and which was due far more to the strange incalculable events of the last cent. B.C., and to the growing feeling of the uncertainty of human life and the hopelessness of the social and political situation, than to any serious reflexion or philosophical reasoning. The general tendency of the best Roman minds in that century was towards Stoicism of the more common-sense type which Panætius had introduced, which admitted no capricious cosmic agency, and exalted the power of human endeavour; and for some time at least the Scipionic circle, as it has been called—the group of disciples of Panætius and Polybius—continued to combine the reasoning of their teachers with strenuous human action. To this school, in some sense at least, belonged the two Gracchi, and also the satirist Lucilius, in whose fragments, more than 900 in number, the word *fortuna* occurs only twice. One of these passages (333 [Baehrens]) has been alluded to above:

'Aut forte omnino aut Fortuna vincere bello;
Si forte ac temere omnino, quid rursus ad honorem?'

Here *fors* seems to be mere chance, and the word *temere* reminds us of the passage of Pacuvius quoted already; *fortuna* seems to be rather a guiding force, like the *τύχη* of Polybius in i. 4; and the general meaning suggested is that *fortuna* and human endeavour aid each other in the field of battle.

4. We may now pass to the two great intellects of the last age of the Republic, Cicero and Cæsar; of the great poet who was their contemporary a brief word will be said directly.

Taking Cicero first—it is by no means easy to gain a clear impression of his idea of Fortune; he wrote in many different moods, reflected or translated the views of many schools of philosophy, and was not himself a man of strong conviction on religious or philosophical questions, following the principles of the New Academy, which denied that absolute truth was attainable, and sought for probability in the opinions of various schools. In his later years Cicero was drawn strongly towards Stoicism, and in the passage from his *de Officiis* already quoted (written in 44 B.C.) he clearly approves the views of Panætius that Fortune is a power working for good and evil on mankind, but that man himself can counteract it by his own will in most matters of real importance. He was, in fact, the direct intellectual descendant of the Scipionic circle, and inherited their belief in Panætius and the Roman type of Stoicism which he introduced. But there can hardly be a doubt that Cicero, under the influence of his age, and the chaotic uncertainty of its social and political life, felt the reality of Fortune, good and bad, more keenly than would have been approved by Panætius. It is in his writings that we first find (with the exception of the passage in Pacuvius) Fortune spoken of in terms, not of the old Latin goddess, but of the later Greek Tyche; she is *volubilis*, *inconstans*, *cæca*, etc., and sometimes appears with the external attributes of the Greek deity. All this is, indeed, little more than literary language, and expresses no very definite conviction; but it is of value for our present purpose, because it reflects beyond doubt the popular ideas of the time. But for Cicero's more serious view of the matter we may turn with advantage to his work *de Divinatione*, composed almost at the end of a life chequered by many turns of Fortune's wheel (44 B.C.). In the first book of this treatise he puts into

¹ For the Stoic *τύχη* (αἰτία ἀδηλος ἀνθρωπίνῳ λογισμῷ) see Reid on Cic. *Acad.* i. 7. 23.

the mouth of his brother Quintus the Stoic view of divination as represented in his lifetime by Posidonius of Rhodes, who differed from his master Panætius in maintaining that human skill and observation can to some extent unravel the mystery of the future, of fate, the 'ex omni aeternitate fluens veritas sempiterna' of the Stoics. In the second book Cicero argues against this view (though himself an augur), and here we seem to find his own personal view of *Fortuna*. He declares that divination, whether of predetermined fate or of matters accidental, is altogether impossible.

'Quomodo ergo id quod temere fit cæco casu et volubilitate fortunæ, praesentiri et praedici potest?' (§ 15 *ad fin.*). 'Nihil enim est tam contrarium rationi et constantiae quam fortuna; ut mihi ne in deum quidem cadere videatur, ut sciat quid casu et fortuito futurum sit. Si enim scit, certe illud eveniet. Sin certe eveniet, nulla fortuna est. Est autem fortuna. Rerum igitur fortuitarum nulla praesensio est' (§ 18).

No doubt this is the view of Carneades and the Academic school generally; Cicero tells us as much (§ 9); but a perusal of the whole book will produce a strong impression that he adopts it *in toto* and with conviction, and in the incomplete *de Fato*, written shortly afterwards, we find much the same view, here also in the course of a criticism of Posidonius. Fate, he says, is the product of the brain of philosophers; common sense and experience teach us that Nature exists and Chance exists, but not Fate. Where is the need to foist in fate (*inculcare fatum*), 'cum sine fato ratio omnium rerum ad naturam fortunamque referatur?' (§ 6). Such arguments are scarcely convincing, and we feel that Cicero is not very clear as to the meaning he attaches to the words *fatum*, *natura*, *fortuna*; but there seems no doubt that he genuinely disliked the idea of a chain of causation—*ἡ ἐλαμπύρην*, as the Stoics called it; he has too lively a consciousness of his own free will, and of the sport of chance in the history of his own time, to accept such a theory. His intense humanity forbade it; he lived too much in the world, enjoyed too thoroughly the exercise of his own individuality. Lastly, the reader may do well to turn to an interesting passage in the *de Natura Deorum* (iii. 88), in which, after insisting that the gods do not give us virtue, and that we do not thank them for it, but for riches, *externæ commoditates*, and such like, he sums up in these words: 'iudicium hoc omnium mortalium est, fortunam a deo petendam, a se ipso sumendam esse sapientiam.' Here, as in the passage from this book quoted above, Cicero is plainly uttering the opinion that suits his own mind best.

Of *Cæsar* it has often been said, not only that he believed in *Fortuna*, but that he believed in her as his own peculiar patroness, as Sulla had done before him. But an examination of his extant writings by no means confirms this opinion. As has been shown in the *CIR* (xvii. 153), the passages usually relied on, when read carefully by the light of their context, fail to prove that *Cæsar* had any particular belief in his own good luck (e.g., the letter enclosed in *Cic. ad Att.* x. 8 B., *de Bell. Gall.* iv. 26, vi. 35, *de Bell. Civ.* iii. 10), and tend to show that, as regards *Fortuna* in general, he simply believed in good and bad luck, as we all do, particularly in military operations. In describing his defeat at Dyrrhachium he begins by saying that 'fortuna, quæ plurimum potest cum in reliquis rebus tum præcipue in bello, parvis momentis magnas rerum commutationes efficit; ut tum accidit'; but after the battle, in addressing his soldiers, he tells them that 'fortunam esse industria sublevandam.' As far as we can judge from his own writings, he seems as rational as Lucretius on this point; and, if it be true that he held Epicurean doctrines (which is, however, by no means certain), it may be that he looked on

Fortuna much as the poet did—as the mechanical force of Nature acting in ways which we cannot foresee or understand. Lucretius wrote (v. 77):

'Præterea solis cursus lunæque meatus
Expediam qua vi flectat natura gubernans,'

and what his *natura gubernans* is appears in line 107, 'quod procul a nobis flectat *Fortuna* gubernans.' On these lines Munro notes that the Epicurean Nature is at one and the same time blind chance and inexorable necessity, and compares vi. 31, 'seu casu seu vi, quod sic Natura parasset.'

5. But, if *Cæsar* himself steers clear of any degrading view of *Fortuna*, and never in reality personifies her, this is not so with his younger contemporaries. The experience of the last century of the Republic might well create a belief in the blind or wilful dominion of chance in human affairs; society and politics seemed to be governed by no benevolent destiny, or rational law of development. Cicero himself had spoken of *Fortuna* in this sense when pleading for Marcellus before *Cæsar* in 46 B.C. (*pro Marcello*, § 7). Sallust in more than one passage writes of her in a way which we have never as yet met with: 'Sed profecto *Fortuna* in omni re dominatur; ea res cunctas, ex libidine magis quam ex vero, celebrat obscuratque' (*Catil.* 8); and in the tenth chapter of the same work, while he looks on the history of Roman conquest down to the destruction of Carthage as the result of *labor* and *justitia*, he declares that after that terrible event 'sævire *Fortuna* ac miscere omnia coepit.' The author of the *Cæsarean* book on the Alexandrian war (possibly Asinius Pollio) speaks of *Fortuna* (ch. 25) in terms of the Greek Nemesis, as reserving those on whom she has heaped benefits for a harder fate. And Cornelius Nepos (*Dion.* 6) in the same way says that the fickleness of *Fortuna* began to sink the hero whom she had just before exalted.

It is true, indeed, that neither of the two finest spirits of the Augustan age ever uses the word in this way. They were both natives of Cisalpine Gaul, then the best strain in the population of Italy. Both were of the same type of character—mild, serious, intensely human, right-minded—with a profound conviction of the duty and destiny of the Roman State. For *Virgil*, when Rome or *Æneas* or even Evander his predecessor and ally is in question, *Fortuna* is the same thing as Fate, or Providence, or the will of Jupiter representing the Divine government of the world, or the Destiny of the Stoics. 'She is not so much a deity, as Reason and Providence conceived and expressed as the benevolent will of a deity' (Heinze, *Virgil's epische Technik*, p. 287).

'Me pulsum patria pelagique extrema sequentem
Fortuna omnipotens et ineluctabile *Fatum*
His posuere locis.'

So says Evander to *Æneas* (*Æn.* viii. 333 ff.). To follow her guidance was the duty of *Æneas* and his Trojans, and therefore also of the Romans. At the beginning of *Æn.* v. she turns the course of the fleet towards Sicily by threatening a storm: 'Superat quoniam *Fortuna*, sequamur, says Palinurus to *Æneas*, 'Quoque vocat, vertamus iter' (22 f.). In v. 709 ff., after the burning of the ships, when *Æneas* is minded to stay in Sicily, crushed by the blow, old Nautes says:

'Nate dea, quo *Fata* trahunt retrahuntque sequamur;
Quicquid erit, superanda omnis *Fortuna* ferendo est.'

Here, if the whole passage be read, it becomes clear that *fortuna* is the will of the gods, against which a man can fight if he will, but submission to which is really victory. So in x. 49 Venus urges Jupiter to let her save the boy Ascanius, i.e. snatch him from the fate which she imagines to be decreed for him; but

'Æneas sane ignotis jactetur in undis
Et quacumque viam dederit *Fortuna* sequatur.'

Once more, a curious passage in x. 107 ff. must be here noticed, because it shows that Virgil could conceive Destiny as working independently of Jupiter, and in contrary directions for different peoples: in response to the pleading of Venus on one side and Juno on the other, Jupiter declines to interfere:

'Sua cuique exorsa laborem
Fortunamque ferent. Rex Jupiter omnibus idem;
Fata viam inveniunt.'

Thus Fortuna is in Virgil, at any rate in the *Aeneid*, a moral conception, to which the leader of men, and indeed all men and States, have to respond by obedience and faith, inspired by that sense of duty to god and man which the Romans called *pietas*. When the poet is not speaking of *pious* Aeneas, or of any one who has this sense of duty, he may use *fortuna* in the ordinary sense of chance. In the speech of Turnus (*Æn.* xi. 378 ff.), which is introduced by the words 'Talibus exarsit verbis violentia Turni,' and is therefore the speech of one uncontrolled by a sense of duty, we find quite a different Fortuna:

'Multa dies varique labor mutabilis aevi
Retulit in melius, multos alterna revisens
Lusit, et in solido rursus Fortuna locavit.'

For Fortuna in *Livy* the reader must be referred to the valuable summary in the introduction to Weissenborn's edition, p. xix ff.; the general results of an independent inquiry can alone be stated here. Whoever reads *Livy's* noble Preface to his work cannot fail to be struck by the absence of any attribution to Fortuna or Fate of the growth of Roman power, or the decline of the virtues which brought it about: *Livy* is here clearly writing from conviction, arrived at independently of the fashionable views of his day. He attributes all to man himself—to the *virtus* and *pietas* of the old Romans, to the decline of morality and manliness in later periods of their history. It is true that in the course of his vast work he speaks of the *Fortuna Populi Romani* (an idea now coming into vogue), e.g. in vi. 30, i. 46, ii. 40, vii. 34. 6. But in almost all these and other passages this Fortuna does but come to the aid of energetic human endeavour, or human endeavour finishes the work of Fortuna. 'Quicquid superfuit Fortunae P. R., id militum etiam sine rectore stabilis virtus tutata est' (vi. 30). It is true, also, that he occasionally uses the word *fortuna* in the ordinary sense of chance, and once or twice he personifies her in the Greek fashion as capricious, e.g. v. 37. 1 ('adeo occaecat animos fortuna, ubi vim suam ingruentem refringi non vult'); but this seems to be a casual and momentary reflexion—the exception to the general rule. 'Fortes fortuna juvat' (viii. 29) expresses far better his personal conviction.

6. After the Augustan age, and for the first two centuries of the Empire, the history of Fortuna becomes difficult to follow; and it may be convenient to treat of it under four different heads or aspects of the idea, viz. (1) the *Fortuna Populi Romani*, which we have just found expressed in different ways in Virgil and *Livy*, and which is also to be found in Propertius; (2) Fortuna as Fate, or closely related to it, affecting human life in general; (3) Fortuna in the vulgar sense of Chance, an unaccountable factor in human life; (4) Fortuna as a deity, especially connected with the worship of the Emperors, but showing herself in other ways also. It may be added here that the word is often used in this period in the sense of high position and dignity, as over and over again in Pliny's panegyric on Trajan, and elsewhere in literature; but this is outside the general scope of this article.

(1) *Fortuna Populi Romani* has what we may call a downward tendency, in this period, to become a goddess; so far it is not easy to prove that

the idea of the destiny of Rome had been so regarded, for the *Fortuna Publica Pop. Rom. Quiritium in colle Quirinali* of the calendar of Cære (*Eph. Epigr.* iii. 7) cannot be dated earlier than 194 B.C. That idea may possibly have begun with Ennius, though it is not found in any of his surviving fragments; it is obvious in Polybius from the Greek *quasi*-philosophical point of view, as has been shown; it is expressed, without distinct association with a divinity, in Virgil and *Livy*. The nearest approach to this Fortuna as a goddess in the Republican period is found in the coins of the gens *Scinia* and the gens *Arria*, which bear a female head (see Roscher, *Lex. der Myth.* i. 1515) with the inscription 'Fort. P.R.' but without any other sign of a cult. But, when the State came to be represented by the individual Caesar, and its greatness associated with his welfare, the growing tendency to pray to Fortuna for his safety brought the deity, in various forms and cults, very close to the idea. This is well shown in the famous ode of Horace (i. 35), where the Fortuna of Antium,¹ pictured in a curious and puzzling manner, is entreated to preserve Augustus in his proposed expedition to Britain (cf. also Augustus in *Mon. Ancyrae* ii. 29; and see below, p. 103). But the older abstract form of *F. Populi Romani* survives alongside of this tendency; e.g. in *Vell. Patere* ii. 86 and 103; *Tac. Hist.* iii. 46, 'adfuit ut sæpe alias Fortuna Pop. Rom.,' i.e. by bringing Mucianus and the Syrian legions to the Danube. In this context the short work of Plutarch, or of Plutarch's school, must be mentioned, *de Fortuna Romanorum*. Here, however, Fortuna is rather Chance (*τὸ αἰρώμαρον*) than the grander conception of *Livy* or Virgil; the question raised is whether the greatness of Rome was due more to Fortuna or to Virtus, and the author concludes that it is due to both, but chiefly to Fortuna. 'She came to Rome to stay, and laid down her wings.' There is not much to our purpose in this work, but it serves to show how much people were thinking about Fortuna at the time, and chiefly in relation to Roman history.

(2) *Fortuna as Fate*, or a guiding power of some more or less definite kind. It was said at the beginning of this article that Fortuna, as distinguished from Fors, never wholly lost the meaning of a superior and intelligent power. In the Empire, among educated people at least, this still holds good, in spite of the fact that Fortuna becomes more and more conceived on the one hand as a deity, on the other as luck and ill-luck in human life, which is the sport of chance. Thus Seneca (*de Beneficiis*, iv. 8. 3) writes: 'nunc naturam voca fatum fortunam, omnia ejusdem dei nomina sunt varie utentis potentia sua'—an interesting passage, because the universal providence of Stoicism is here a nameless deity, neither Jupiter nor another, the God whom Seneca urges his disciples to love as well as worship, in language hardly distinguishable from that of St. Paul (see Zeller, *Stoics, Epicureans, and Sceptics*, p. 322 ff.; Boissier, *Religion rom.* ii. 71 ff.). But, as a rule, Seneca uses the word in the current sense, as a power not to be worshipped or submitted to, but to be overcome by the human will and wisdom; e.g. in *de Constantia Sapientis*, 15. 3 (and, indeed, *passim*), 'vincit nos fortuna nisi tota vincitur'; *Epist.* 98, 'valentior omni fortuna animus est.' Evidently there is no clear distinction between Fortune and Fate, yet the former is not so much pure luck or chance as something whose action we are not able to understand (*Aug. de Civ. Dei*, v. 9), or the executor of the decrees of Providence (*Macrobius Sat.* v. 16. 8).

¹ There were two Fortunae at Antium, but Horace speaks of one only, which may perhaps indicate that he did not know much about the cult.

This old Stoic notion we have already noticed as illustrated in Polybius. The great historian of the Empire is occasionally puzzled by conflicting ideas of Fortune and Fate, though, as a rule, he uses the word in the vulgar sense, e.g. *Hist.* iv. 47, 'magna documenta instabilis fortunae summa et inconstantis.' In a famous passage in the *Annals* (vi. 22, where see Furneaux's notes, and some excellent remarks in the Introduction to his first vol. p. 21) Tacitus tells us that he cannot make up his mind whether human affairs 'fatone et necessitate immutabili an forte voluntur' (cf. iv. 20), where *forte* is identical with *fortuna* as popularly used. It would seem that, as Furneaux says (p. 22), Tacitus was inclined to accept the idea that our destiny is fixed from the moment of our birth, and could be foretold from our horoscope if we were sure of our interpreter; it is only now and then that he has doubts, as, when writing (*Ann.* iv. 20) of the excellent Manius Lepidus who did good work in enviable quiet under Tiberius, he doubtfully raises the question whether favour or dislike of princes is the work of Fate and our 'sors nascendi,' 'an sit aliquid in nostris consiliis,' etc. This is no real philosophic reflexion, but merely the passing doubt of an acute mind which has watched the tyranny of Domitian. Is the human will free to shape its course bravely and with happy result?

(3) *Fortuna in the vulgar sense of pure Chance.*—There is no need to illustrate this further than by quoting the famous passage of the elder Pliny (*HN* ii. 22), in which the universality of the ascription to Fortuna of all good and evil in human life is most emphatically stated.

'Toto quippe mundo et omnibus locis omnibusque horis omnium vocibus Fortuna sola invocatur et nominatur, una accusatur, una agitur res, una cogitatur, sola laudatur, sola arguitur. Et cum conviciis colitur, volubilis, et plerisque vero et caeca existimata, vaga, inconstans, incerta, varia, indigneque faultrix. Huic omnia expensa, huic omnia feruntur accepta, et in tota ratione mortalium sola utranque paginam facit (i.e. in the debit and credit of human accounts—adversity and prosperity—everything is set down to her), adeoque obnoxiae sumus sortis, ut sors ipsa pro deo sit, qua deus probatur incertus.'

This last sentence should not lead us to imagine that Pliny is here thinking of Fortuna only as a goddess with a cult: what he is really thinking of, as the context shows, is the dismal superstition which attributed all the changes and accidents of life to Chance, whether vaguely conceived and invoked as a deity or regarded as an unintelligible something about which no one had the inclination to reason—a superstition which excludes human endeavour, and indeed human sense of duty generally, and which may be, far more than we should guess without this remarkable passage, accountable for the want of 'grit' and vitality in all classes under the Roman Empire. It may perhaps be connected with the popularity of a coarse Epicureanism in the last period of the Republic, of which Cicero speaks (*Tusc. Disp.* iv. 6 and 7); for, in spite of its noble presentation by Lucretius, or by Cicero in *de Finibus*, bk. i., the disciples of this school undoubtedly learnt that the gods care for none of us, and that good and bad luck come to good and bad men by blind chance only. We have seen how after the period of Cicero and Caesar the idea of Fortune as treacherous and capricious began to gain ground, but was checked among men of education and reflexion by the *Æneid* of Virgil and the *History* of Livy; but we may conjecture that among the uneducated or half-educated, in a period in which the outward forms of religion were revived, without the inward conviction of man's shortcomings or of his dependence on a Deity for help towards right conduct, this poisonous notion of Chance was weakening the fibre of the Roman. It is probable that the constant use of Fortuna in the literature of the period, and even by serious

authors like Seneca, Juvenal, and Tacitus, is a reflexion of this condition of the popular mind. But we find it in its rawest form in writers who took life less seriously, such as Ovid (e.g. *Metam.* iii. 141), or Petronius (*Sat.* 120, 121), or in the work of a soldier like Velleius Paterculus (e.g. ii. 57, 75, 110 *ad init.*), who was not really a man apt and able to reason about such questions.

(4) *Fortuna as a deity*, in common belief and in connexion with the Imperial family. When Juvenal writes, at the end of his tenth satire,

'Nullum numen abest, si sit prudentia; nos te Nos facimus, Fortuna, Deam, coeloque locamus,'

he is no doubt thinking of his own time, of the growing tendency to turn the vulgar idea of Chance, illustrated under the last head, into a goddess Fortuna worshipped in iconic form.

Two curious stories of this 1st cent. A.D. may illustrate the tendency. Suetonius tells us of the Emperor Galba (writing only a generation later) that he dreamt one night that Fortuna told him that she was standing wearied outside his door, and that if he did not speedily welcome her she would be the prey of any passer-by. He went and opened the door, and found a bronze image of the goddess at the threshold; this he took with him to his Tusculan villa, where he made a shrine for her and set up an elaborate cult. The rest of the story will be found in Suet. *Galba*, 18. Another story was that Sejanus had a statue of Fortuna which turned its back on him just before his fall, as he was sacrificing to it (Dio. Cass. lviil. 7, 2). There seems no doubt that he had a statue, and an ancient one, of a deity belonging to his native Etruscan town Volturni (see Fowler, *op. cit.* p. 171), which may have been an Etruscan representative of Fortuna; but the instructive point of the story is the way in which this statue was seized upon as one of Fortuna by the common belief of the age.

There was, indeed, a tendency to identify other deities with the one now becoming so popular in all parts of the Empire; among the innumerable votive inscriptions to Fortuna to be found in every volume of the *CIL* are many which seem to show that Tutela, Nemesis, perhaps Victoria, come very close to her (specimens of this tendency may be found in Dessau, *Inscr. Lat. Selectae*, i. 1. 93 ff.); at the same time it may be noted that the typical figure of Fortuna, with cornucopie and patera, or rudder, wheel, or ship's prow, remains essentially the same, as found on coins and statuettes in great numbers in all parts of the Empire (see art. by R. Peter on 'Fortuna' in Roscher's *Lex.* i. 1503 ff.; Mau, *Pompeii*, p. 336 of the Eng. tr.). In this form Fortuna found a place among the Penates of the household.

In two cases, however, under the influence of the syncretizing tendency of the age, Fortuna puts on, in addition to her own, the attributes of other deities: (1) of the mysterious Panthea, by which she seems to become exalted into a position in which she unites the attributes of all other deities (see Roscher, i. 1534 ff.); (2) of Isis (*ib.* 1530 ff.), possibly as a consequence of an old connexion with sea-faring, which was common to both. The latter identification is the most curious development of Fortuna under the Empire.

We can see the process of assimilation in a charming passage of the romance of Apuleius (xi. 15), where the young Lucius is initiated by the priest of Isis into the mysteries of the goddess. Lucius is told that he has passed out of the capricious power of the blind and reckless Fortuna, into the loving care of a Fortuna who is not blind, and who even illuminates the other gods by her own light. 'Behold, freed from his former troubles, rejoicing in the provident care of great Isis, Lucius triumphs over his own Fortune.'

The worship of Fortuna in connexion with the person of the Caesar may be called an adjunct of the official cult of the Emperor (see art. ROMAN RELIGION, Period iv. § 1). It began in 19 B.C. with the return of Augustus from a course of travel in Greece and the East, when, as we learn from his own record (*Mon. Ancyrr. Lat.* ii. 29, Gr. 6, 7), an altar was dedicated on Dec. 15 to Fortuna Redux, and a permanent cult instituted. In the year A.D. 14, i.e. in the first year of Tiberius' reign, games were celebrated to Divus Augustus and Fortuna Redux, which henceforward were held

annually in the beginning of October under the name of *Augustalia*, and appear in the religious calendars (Tac. *Ann.* i. 15: *Fasti Amiterni* and *Antiates*, and *Feriale Cumanum*). From this time onward Fortuna Redux, with the title *Augusta* often added, became specially a deity of the Imperial family. We find her invoked, with the sacrifice of a cow, in the ritual of the Arval Brotherhood, 'ob diem quo urbem ingressus est Vespasianus,' 'pro salute et reditu Domitiani,' and on other occasions of the same kind down to the beginning of the 3rd cent. (Henzen, *Act. Fratr. Arv.* pp. 86, 122). For full information on this worship, and the kindred one of Fortuna Dux, see R. Peter, in Roscher, i. 1525 ff.

How far Fortuna was conceived by Augustus and his immediate successors as a really efficient *numen* must remain doubtful; but later on there can be no doubt that she, or rather her image, became little better than a fetish. The story of Galba and the image has already been told; the *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* tell us of Antoninus Pius, and even of Marcus Aurelius, that they kept a golden image of her (*Fortuna aurea* or *regia*) in their bed-chambers, and carried it with them wherever they went (see, e.g., Jul. Capitolinus, *Ant. Pius*, 12; Spartianus, *Severus*, 23). But after the spread and final recognition of Christianity this came to an end, as did the official worship; for Fortuna, whether thought of as a goddess of chance or as a protecting deity, was equally irreconcilable with Christian convictions.

Summary.—We may now sum up in a very few words the long story that has been told above. Fortuna begins as a deity, not of mere chance, but of helpful power in relation to certain events of human life, especially childbirth and seafaring, and then develops under many forms and cult titles which, however, gradually lose their original force and meaning, like so many other of the early Roman worshipers (see ROMAN RELIGION, Period IV. § 1). Meanwhile the influence of the later sceptical Greek idea of *τύχη* introduces the Roman mind to the conception of blind chance, best shown in the fragment of Pacuvius (above, p. 98); but this is neutralized among the better educated by the later or Roman School of Stoicism, beginning with Panetius and in a historical form with Polybius, and having a tendency to associate the conception of Fortune with the Destiny of Rome and the *Fortuna Populi Romani*, as we see it in Virgil and Livy. In the confusion of the last age of the Republic, and perhaps under the influence of popular Epicureanism, the more degraded idea of Fortuna gains ground, and appears in writers of a less earnest moral type in the 1st cent. of the Empire, and also in the thought and worship of the less educated classes. Lastly, we return to an official or state cult of Fortuna in connexion with the cult of the Caesars, and with the settled order of the Empire; and finally, under the benign influence of Christianity the lower aspects of the idea and the cult alike tend to disappear.

See also FATE (Greek and Roman).

LITERATURE.—R. Peter, in Roscher, *Lex. der gr. und röm. Myth.* i. 1503; G. Boissier, *La Religion romaine*², Paris, 1891; H. Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae selectae*, ii., Berlin, 1902; W. Warde Fowler, *The Roman Festivals of the Period of the Republic*, London, 1899; R. Heinze, *Virgils epische Technik*, Leipzig, 1903; G. Henzen, *Acta fratrum arvorum quae supersunt*, Berlin, 1874; A. Mau, *Pompeii, its Life and Art*, Eng. tr., New York, 1899; A. Schmekel, *Philosophie der mittleren Stoa*, Berlin, 1892; G. Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus der Römer*, Munich, 1902; E. Zeller, *The Stoics, Epicureans, and Sceptics*, Eng. tr., London, 1880.

W. WARDE FOWLER.

FOSTERAGE.—By this term is meant the practice of receiving into a family the child of another household, to keep and nurture for a certain period. The custom differs from adoption

(*q.v.*) in that the foster-child does not become a permanent member of the family by which it is received. Language does not originally distinguish between nurse and foster-mother, and fosterage may be considered as a natural development of nursing, arising when considerations of health or other special circumstances render it desirable to separate the child for a time from his parents. Such cases will occur in any community, however primitive, and the natural tie of affection between nurse and nursing may be expected to subsist between foster-parents and their charge. Among certain peoples this feeling attains exceptional strength, and the relationship develops into an important institution. This happens especially in a tribal condition of society, when family relationships are still the main social nexus, before the growth of political association.

I. **ORIENTAL RACES.**—1. **Arabs.**—Although it is among European nations that the custom reaches its highest development, it has its importance for certain Oriental peoples also. It must have prevailed from early times in Arabia. Muhammad was put out to nurse with a woman of the Beni Sad, who reared him among her own tribe until he was five years old, and anecdotes are told of the attachment which he displayed in later years towards his foster-mother and her daughter (Muir, *Life of Mahomet*², London, 1894, pp. 5-7). When he came to legislate for his followers, he laid down a law against the intermarriage of persons connected by the tie of milk-kinship. The principle of the law is stated in the words: 'Whatever is prohibited by consanguinity is also prohibited by fosterage': that is to say, the tie of milk is as much a bar to marriage as the tie of blood, and the kin of foster-parents come within the forbidden degrees in just the same way as the kin of actual parents (*Hedaya*, tr. Hamilton and Grady, London, 1870, p. 67). This enactment must be regarded, not as an arbitrary decree of the Prophet, but as giving legal form and sanction to the traditional usage among the Arabs (Robertson-Smith, *Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia*², London, 1903, pp. 175 f., 195 f.). Muhammad's principle was worked out in the *Hidāya*, and a metaphysical theory was supplied by later legists. The prohibitions thus established remain in force to the present day, and are incorporated into the Anglo-Muham. law of India (R. K. Wilson, *Anglo-Muham. Law of India*², London and Calcutta, 1908, p. 113).

2. **India.**—On this point there is a sharp distinction between the Muhammadans of India and the Hindus. Among the latter fosterage is not unknown, but it has no particular significance and is practically unrecognized by Hindu law (H. Maine, *Early Institutions*², 243), whereas adoption holds an important place in this code. A foster-child enjoys no legal status unless the ceremony of adoption has been performed (J. D. Mayne, *Hindu Law*², Madras and London, 1888, § 167). The pure-blooded inhabitants of Rajputana, however, with their more primitive type of community, give much more prominence to foster-kinship.

²Although the foster-family of a Chief is never of the Rajput clan, but belongs almost always to some particular family of a well-known pastoral tribe, yet the foster-brothers often attain much influence and position at his court, and the family has a recognized hereditary status of "kinship by the milk" (Lyll, *Asiatic Studies*, London, 1882, p. 221).

In the same way the Rajas of Bundelkhand have their children fostered by women of the Ahir caste of cowherds; in speaking to a man of this caste, *dawa*, 'foster-father,' is a respectful mode of address [information from H. Spencer, I.C.S.]. The same habit of choosing the foster-parents of chieftains among a particular subordinate tribe will meet us again in Ireland.

3. **Turco-Tatars.**—That foster-kinship was more

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cage. This could never be opened, except with the consent of the head of his order, who kept the key.

LITERATURE.—H. H. Wilson, *Religious Sects of the Hindus*, London, 1861, p. 236; G. A. Grierson, tr. of the *Padmāvatī* of Malik Muḥammad Jāsi, Calcutta, 1896, p. 17.

G. A. GRIERSON.

KARAMNĀSA, KARMNĀSA (Skr. *Karmānāsa*, 'that which destroys the merit of works').—The accursed river of Hindu mythology, which rises in the Kaimūr hills, Bengal; lat. 24° 32' N., long. 83° 26' E.; forming in part of its course the boundary between the provinces of Bengal and the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, and finally, after a course of about 146 miles, joining the Ganges. It has been identified with the *Koppurāṅga* of Megasthenes (J. W. McCrindle, *Ancient India as described by Megasthenes and Arrian*, Calcutta, 1877, p. 186 ff.). On the borders of the District of Mirzapur it hurls itself over a sandstone precipice, forming, under the name of Chhānpaṭthar, 'the stone-sifter,' one of the finest waterfalls in India.

In Hindu mythology the stream is connected with the legend of Satyavrata or Trisāṅku, a prince of the solar race and king of Ayodhyā. He aspired to perform a sacrifice by which, in his mortal body, he might ascend to heaven. He requested the sage Vasiṣṭha to officiate for him in this rite. On his appeal being refused, he invoked the aid of the hundred sons of the sage, by whom he was cursed and degraded to the status of a Chāṇḍāla, or out-caste. In this extremity he had recourse to a rival sage, Viśvāmitra, who undertook the sacrifice, and invited the presence of all the gods. They refused to appear, and Viśvāmitra, by his own magic-working powers, transported Trisāṅku to the skies, whence, on his arrival, he was hurled down head-foremost to earth by the enraged deities. But Viśvāmitra arrested his downward course, and he remained suspended between heaven and earth, and formed a constellation in the S. hemisphere. Another tale describes him as a wicked prince, guilty of the three heinous sins (*tri-śaṅku*); and in its modern form the story states that the river is formed by the saliva which drops from his lips as he hangs suspended in the air. The tale seems to represent some ancient conflict of rival cults, represented by the contest between the sages Vasiṣṭha and Viśvāmitra (J. Muir, *Orig. Skr. Texts*, pt. i. 2, 1872, p. 371 ff.). It may have been attached to this river because, as in other parts of India, the stream may have formed an ethnical or endogamous boundary. It may have marked at an early period the furthest point of the eastern advance of the Aryan-speaking races, as in later days it formed the boundary of the kingdom of Magadha.

Whatever may be the origin of the legend, the river maintains its evil reputation to the present day. Though its water flows clear as crystal, no orthodox Hindu dares to bathe in it or drink from it. In olden days, pilgrims employed the services of men of low caste, who supposed themselves safe from contamination, to convey them on their backs across the ill-omened water. Even the ferrymen, when the river was in flood during the rainy season, were implored by their passengers not to splash up the water with their oars. To obviate the risks to which pilgrims were thus exposed, the famous Rānī Ahalyā Bāi of Indor attempted to bridge it; but she failed, and the work was finally accomplished by a wealthy banker of Benares, Rājā Patni Mal. This bridge and another on the E. Indian Railway now secure safe transit for orthodox Hindus.

LITERATURE.—H. H. Wilson, *Vishṇu Purāṇa*, London, 1864-77, iii. 284-287; F. Buchanan, in M. Martin, *Eastern India*, do. 1838, i. 399 ff.; J. Dowson, *Classical Dictionary*, do. 1879, p. 288 ff.; Bholanath Chunder, *Travels of a Hindoo*, do. 1869, i. 234 f.; *Memoirs of Baber*, tr. J. Leyden and W. Erskine, do. 1826, p. 408; *Ain-i-Akbari*, tr. H. Blochmann and H. S. Jarrett, Calcutta, 1873-94, ii. 161; *IGI* xv. [1905] 21.

W. CROOKE.

KARĀRĪS.—A sect of Indian Śāktas (*q.v.*). The origin of the name is unknown. It may be an Indianized form of the Persian *qarārī*, 'firm,' 'established,' in the sense of 'staunch,' or a derivative of the Skr. *karāla*, 'terrific,' the Karārīs being worshippers of Devī in her terrific form. According to Wilson, they are the modern representatives of the Aghoraghāṇṭas and Kāpālikas, who in former times sacrificed human beings to Kālī, Chāmūṇḍa, Chhinnamastakā, and other hideous

personifications of the *śakti* of Siva. The modern Karārīs inflict upon themselves bodily tortures, piercing the flesh with hooks or spits, running sharp-pointed instruments through the tongue and cheeks, gashing themselves with knives, or lying upon beds with sharp-pointed spikes. This is usually done to extort money rather than for devotion.

LITERATURE.—For the general question of this self-inflicted torture see J. A. Dubois, *Hindu Manners, Customs, and Ceremonies*, ed. H. K. Beauchamp, Oxford, 1906, p. 597 ff. For the Karārīs see H. H. Wilson, *Religious Sects of the Hindus*, London, 1861, i. 264, and K. Raghunāthji, in *IA* x. [1881] 73.

G. A. GRIERSON.

KARENS.—See BURMA.

KĀRLĒ, KĀRLĪ (also known as Vihārgānv, 'temple-village').—A place on the road from Bombay to Poona; lat. 18° 45' N., long. 73° 29' E.; famous as the site of important Buddhist caves, excavated a little before the Christian era.

'It is the largest as well as the most complete *chaitya* cave hitherto discovered in India, and was excavated at a time when the style was in its greatest purity. In it all the architectural defects of the previous examples are removed; the pillars of the nave are quite perpendicular. The screen is ornamented with sculpture—its first appearance apparently in such a position—and the style had reached a perfection never afterwards surpassed' (J. Fergusson, *Hist. of Indian and Eastern Arch.*, 2, i. 142).

The building resembles, to a very great extent, an early Christian church in its arrangement, consisting of a nave and side-aisles, terminating in an apse or semi-dome, round which the aisle is carried. Its arrangement and dimensions are similar to those of the choir of Norwich Cathedral, or of the Abbaye aux Hommes at Caen, omitting the outer aisles in the latter building.

'Of the interior we can judge perfectly, and it certainly is as solemn and grand as any interior can well be, and the mode of lighting the most perfect—one undivided volume of light coming through a single opening overhead at a very favourable angle, and falling directly on the *dāgaba* or principal object in the building, leaving the rest in comparative obscurity. The effect is considerably heightened by the closely-set thick columns that divide the three aisles from one another, as they suffice to prevent the boundary walls from ever being seen; and as there are no openings in the walls, the view between the pillars is practically unlimited' (*ib.* i. 147 f.).

Immediately under the semi-dome of the apse is a great *dāgaba*, or relic-shrine, which originally was probably painted and decorated, or adorned with hangings. This is surmounted by a *tee* (Burmese *h'ti*) with the remains of a wooden umbrella which originally overhung it. The cave is entered from three doorways under a gallery like our roodlofts, forming one great window through which light is admitted to the interior. Near the great cave is a Hindu shrine dedicated to Ekvirā, the goddess of the Koli tribe, which is probably older than the Buddhist excavations.

LITERATURE.—J. Fergusson, *Hist. of Indian and Eastern Arch.*, 2, London, 1910; Fergusson-Burgess, *The Cave Temples of India*, do. 1880; L. Rousset, *India and its Native Princes*, do. 1882, p. 64 ff., with illustrations; *BG* xviii. [1885] pt. iii. p. 454 ff.; *IGI* xv. [1903] 44 ff.

W. CROOKE.

KARMA.—i. Importance of doctrine.—The Indian solution of the great riddle of the origin of suffering and the diversity of human conditions is to be found in the word *karma*, which, through the theosophists, has become familiar to European ears. Hindus believe that souls have been transmigrating from the beginning; they practically hold that the wellbeing or the suffering of everybody is only the result of former acts (*karma*). This solution of the great riddle is not altogether satisfactory, as we get no answer concerning the 'very beginning'; but it is a happy one, eminently moral, and to a large extent a true one.

The doctrine of *karma*, i.e. acts and their retribution, is of great antiquity in India. It gradually broke away from Vedic naturalism, mysticism, and piety.

'Karma struck hard against the old belief in sacrifice, penance, and repentance as destroyers of sin' (E. W. Hopkins, *JRAS*, 1906, p. 583).

It became formulated at an early stage in definite terms :

'As a man himself sows, so he himself reaps ; no man inherits the good or evil act of another man. The fruit is of the same quality with the action, and, good or bad, there is no destruction of the action' (*ib.* p. 581).

This doctrine might be called the essential element, not only of all moral theories in India, but also of popular belief. If a person is born deformed or unhealthy, it must be—so people say—because of sins committed in his former life. It is in Buddhism, however, that the doctrine of *karma* reaches its climax and assumes a unique character. Elsewhere it meets with correctives ; there are counteractions to human acts ; but in Buddhism it may be said that *karma* explains everything, or ought to.

2. Ego and karma.—Other Indian philosophies admit the existence of a self-existent soul or an ego. In Buddhist philosophy the ego is merely a collection of various elements constantly renewed, which are combined into a pseudo-personality only as the result of action. It has, therefore, been asserted that Buddhism does not admit transmigration : when a being dies, a new being is born and inherits his *karma* ; what transmigrates is not a person, but his *karma*. This explanation is justified by some texts ;¹ but it would be more exact to put the matter in a different way : an existence is a section of the existence of a certain soul—or, to use Buddhist terms, of a 'series' composed of thoughts, sensations, volition, and material elements. This series never had a beginning. It has to 'eat' the fruits of a certain number of acts under certain conditions, and the experience of these acts constitutes an existence (see DEATH [Buddhist]). When this existence comes to an end, there are still some acts to be 'eaten,' both new and old. The series, therefore, passes into another existence, and lives a new section of life, under new conditions. It cannot be said that acts are the sole material cause of this re-incarnation ; for the physical elements of the new being, blood and seed, are not intelligent ; *karma* (the possibilities of retribution called *karma*) is not intelligent ; while the new being is intelligent from the embryo. It is the 'series' as a whole, with all its moral and material elements, that is incarnated. If the series does not dissolve at death, if it becomes re-incarnate, it is because its acts must entail retribution. The new being is what its acts have made it : all the pleasant and unpleasant experiences to which it will have to submit are simply the retribution of acts. In fact, there is no agent (*kartar*) ; there is nothing but the act and its fruit ; organs, thoughts, and external things are all the fruit of acts, in the same way as pleasant and unpleasant sensations.

3. Karma and destiny.—Over and above human energy and free will Brāhmanism placed destiny (*daiva*, from *deva*, 'god'). To Buddhists destiny is merely 'past acts.' The earlier Indian belief was that the world was re-created by Brahmā at the end of each period of chaos. Buddhists hold that the whole universe, with all its variety, is the work of acts. But by 'acts' we must here understand the combined mass of the acts of all beings ; e.g., at the beginning of the re-creation of the world there rise in the vast void of the universe 'winds born of acts,' which heap up the clouds from which the creative rain will pour, and so on (see COSMOGONY AND COSMOLOGY [Buddhist]).

4. Nature of karma.—'Act' was variously interpreted by the Indian philosophers. The early

¹ The present writer has recently found one text with this meaning, *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*, iii. 24 ; but see *ib.* iii. 11 f.

thinkers attributed an importance to liturgical action and penance which Buddhists contest or even deny. For them an act is essentially action that can be morally qualified. It is (1) volition (*chetanā*), mental or spiritual act (*mānasa*), and (2) what is born of volition, what is done by volition, what a person does after having willed, i.e. bodily or vocal act. Mental acts are acts *par excellence*, inasmuch as there is no act without mental action. We are what we think ; we are what we will.¹ No act is imputable, or, in Buddhist terminology, accumulated (*upachita*), put in reserve for future retribution, unless it is intentional, deliberate, accomplished, and free from regret and antidote (remorse, confession, etc.). *Chetanā*, being mental, leaves traces (*vāsanās*) in the 'series of thoughts' (*viññānasantāna*) ; this is the explanation of retribution. In certain cases the act of thought is the most potent act ; the anger of a *rṣi*, e.g., can depopulate a whole region. But the mental act is not the only act ; and, as a rule, 'what one does after having willed' is more important than the willing. To kill an enemy is more efficacious and more serious than to wish to kill him. Hence the importance of physical and spoken acts. Physical and spoken acts make something known (*viññāpayati*), for speech and gesture are significant ; they are, therefore, named *viññapti* ; but the Buddhist school admits that they create *aviññapti*. By *aviññapti* we must understand a thing of particular nature, derived from the four great material elements, earth, water, etc., but subtle. Once produced by a conscious and voluntary vocal or bodily act, it exists and develops of its own accord, without the agency of thought, unconsciously, whether a man is sleeping, waking, or absorbed in contemplation. It is part of the series that takes the place of the soul in Buddhism.

5. *Saṃvara* and *asaṃvara*.—Here we must notice the important tenet of *saṃvara*, moral restraint, and its opposite, *asaṃvara*. The man who, in accordance with the established rules of the community, undertakes to keep the Buddhist vows, or simply the five rules 'not to kill,' 'not to steal,' etc., creates by this solemn declaration (*viññapti*) an *aviññapti* of particular virtue. This *aviññapti* constitutes what might be compared—roughly, of course—to the merit attaching to religious vows in Christian theology. The merit of the man who has declared (*viññāpayati*) his intention of keeping the vows goes on increasing. Every abstention from murder, theft, etc., is reckoned a merit to him, though, as a rule, it is no special merit to the ordinary man to abstain from those crimes. The *saṃvara* constituted by the acceptance of rules continues to exist until the rules are categorically renounced—until an act is committed which is in direct opposition to them.

The man who, on the other hand, devotes himself professionally to a certain sin—the murderer, butcher, judge, or king—lives in *asaṃvara*, and is vowed to perdition.

6. Pure and impure karma.—There are two kinds of acts : acts free from *āsravas*, or pure acts, and acts accompanied by *āsravas*, or impure acts. The meaning of *āsrava* is not quite certain ('deadly floods' [according to Rhys Davids] ; 'discharge, matter, pus' [Childers]), but it is right to say that it has something to do with desire and ignorance : 'pure' means free from passion (*kṛśa*). Being free from desire and ignorance, pure acts have no retribution ; they do not contribute to existence ; they are, by their nature, the destroyer of existence ; they prepare the way to *nirvāṇa*. Such are the 'volitions' by which one gets rid of human and transitory interests to contemplate and

¹ In this the Buddhists differ from the Jains, who do not recognize mental acts.

meditate upon the four 'noble truths' by which one enters into the path of Arhatship.

All other acts are impure, and are further distinguished as good or bad, merit or demerit. The principle of distinction seems to be retribution: the act with pleasant retribution is good; that with unpleasant retribution is bad. It may also be said that acts performed with a view to happiness in this world are bad; acts performed with a view to happiness in the world beyond are good. We sometimes meet with the noteworthy statement that good and bad actions (*sucharita* and *duṣcharita*) are characterized by their intention for the good or harm of others.

7. **Roots of karma.**—The good act (*kuśala*) has three roots: the absence of lust (*alobha*), of hatred (*adveṣa*), and of error (*amoha*). All bad acts are in contradiction to good acts; but false doctrine alone (*mithyādrṣṭi*)—denial of good and bad, of fruit, of salvation—cuts the 'roots of the good act.' It must, however, be strong-strong (there are nine categories: weak-weak, weak-medium, weak-strong, etc.). Only men can cut the root; gods cannot, because they know the retribution of acts; women cannot, according to some teachers, owing to their instability of mind. In order to cut the root, a man must be an 'intellectual' (*dṛṣṭicharita*), a being capable of a strong determination to sin; this excludes 'passionate men' (*trṣṇācharita*), eunuchs, the damned, and animals. The roots are restored by doubt as to the existence of good and evil, and by recovery of belief in good and evil.

8. **Classifications of karma.**—Acts are distinguished as of three kinds: good (*kuśala*), bad (*akuśala*), and indifferent (*avyākṛta*), i.e. beneficial, pernicious, and neither the one nor the other; i.e. acts protecting from suffering either temporarily (by assuring a happy lot) or finally (leading to *nirvāṇa*), acts followed by unpleasant retribution, and acts different from both of these—not to be 'enjoyed' pleasantly or painfully.

Acts may also be classified as meritorious (*puṇya*), demeritorious (*apūṇya*), and fixed (*āniñjya*). The good act of the sphere of desire, i.e. bearing fruits which will be well rewarded in the sphere of desire (*Kāmadhātu*; see COSMOGONY AND COSMOLOGY [Buddhist]), is called meritorious; when it attaches itself to a higher sphere, it is called 'fixed.' As a matter of fact, the retribution of a good act in the sphere of desire is not absolutely determined: an action which ought to have a retribution of force, beauty, and so on, may in fact be enjoyed in a divine, human, or animal birth. This is not the case with the good act to be rewarded in the higher spheres; here an act never gets retribution in one stage instead of in another. The demeritorious act is the bad act. The act which is a final protection from suffering, i.e. which leads to *nirvāṇa*, is good (*kuśala*), since it is 'pure,' but not meritorious (*puṇya*).

9. **Retribution (*vipāka*).**—The fruit of retribution of acts includes not only the sensation, but also everything that determines the sensation—organs, etc. The three kinds of acts produce agreeable sensation (*sukhavedanīya*), disagreeable sensation, and indifferent sensation. The first two are easily understood; the proper sphere of retribution for the third is the fourth ecstasy; but it is also believed that the indifferent act produces the vital organ, etc., and other data hedonistically neutral. It is regarded as good, but not intense.

Acts may be (a) determinate (*nīyata*), and (b) indeterminate (*anīyata*)—i.e., they involve or do not involve a necessary retribution.

(a) Five kinds of acts are called *ānantaryas*, 'immediate,' because their retribution (hell) cannot be interrupted by an act allowing of fruit in

another existence: matricide, patricide, murder of an Arhat, schism, and malicious wounding of a Buddha. Mother and father are benefactors in an eminent degree; the Arhat, the community, and the Buddha are 'fields of qualities.' To kill one's father in the endeavour to kill flies is not *ānantarya*; but to kill an Arhat without knowing that he is an Arhat is *ānantarya*, because the intent to murder is determined: 'I shall kill some one.'

Acts said to be 'similar to *ānantaryas*,' and necessarily entailing hell, are violation of a mother who is an Arhat, murder of a Bodhisattva, murder of a saint of the *śaikṣa* class, theft from the community, and destruction of a *stūpa*.

(b) The retribution of all other acts may be arrested (1) by the acquisition of the spiritual stage called 'patience' (*kṣānti*), which brings one past the stage of retribution of acts leading to evil destiny, just as a man may escape his creditors by emigrating; (2) by the acquisition of the quality of the saint 'who never returns' (*anāgāmin*); one passes beyond the sphere of desire; only those acts bear fruit which must bear fruit in this present existence; (3) by the acquisition of Arhatship; all *karma* is destroyed, with the reservation already noted. When, by so-called 'worldly' perfection (*laukika*), i.e. not properly Buddhist, a man obtains birth into the higher spheres and detachment from all affection for the sphere of desire, the retribution of acts to be rewarded in the sphere of desire is suspended, since the lower sphere cannot be finally abandoned except by the 'noble path.'

Good acts of the body, voice, and thought are purification; they arrest, either temporarily or finally, soiling by the passions of bad acts.

A distinction is also drawn between (1) the act felt in the same life in which it is accomplished; (2) the act felt in the following life; and (3) the act felt later.

10. **Projection of karma.**—An existence is 'projected,' or caused, by an act; but a number of acts combine to condition an existence, and hence the variety of human fortune. Here the theory of the white-black act applies.

Every bad act is black; the act that is good in relation to the higher spheres is white; the act that is good in relation to the sphere of desire is white-black, because, being always weak, it is always mixed with evil. It is good in itself, but co-exists in the 'series' (soul) along with bad acts.

A human existence cannot be projected except by a good act. But, supposing this existence follows an infernal existence, the latter has been projected, in the course of the existence preceding it, by a bad act 'to be punished in a following existence'; the former has been projected, in the course of the same preceding existence, by a good act 'to be rewarded in an existence following the following.' In a human existence following upon an infernal existence, a man may have a short life, or may suffer scarcity of food and property, or may wed an unfaithful wife, etc. All these misfortunes are the fruit of the stream (*niṣyanda*) of murder, theft, adultery, etc., which have had infernal existence as their fruit of retribution (*vipāka*).

A man causes suffering to the living being whom he kills, therefore he must suffer in hell (*vipāka*); he makes him die, therefore he must himself die soon (*niṣyanda*).

Acts have also a fruit of a general kind. Towards the end of the little cosmic period (*antarakālpa*; see COSMOGONY AND COSMOLOGY [Buddhist]), plants etiolate, are crushed by stones and rain, and bear little fruit; this is the result of a superabundance of murder, theft, etc.—the fruit of *karma* as sovereign (*adhipati*). The creation of the universe is the result of the acts of all beings

together; the hells are created by the acts that require to be punished in hell, and so on.

II. Paths of karma.—Among good and bad acts ten paths of acts (*karmapatha*) are distinguished because of their gravity: (a) for the body: murder, theft, and forbidden love; (b) for the voice: lying, slander, insolence, and 'unprofitable conversation' (stultiloquium, etc.); (c) for the spirit: covetousness, malice, and false doctrine. Their opposites are abstention from murder, etc.

False doctrine (*mithyadrsti*) is the denial of good and evil, of retribution and salvation. It is bad because it is the principle of the will to hurt others.

The first seven, from murder to 'stultiloquium,' are physical and spoken acts (*karma*), and paths of acts (*karmapatha*), i.e. paths of mental action, i.e. volition (*chetanā*); the last three, covetousness, malice, and false doctrine, are not acts, but simply paths of volition. Confusion of passions (*kleśas*) with acts must be avoided.

We must further distinguish in an act the preparation, the act proper, and the 'back' (*prsthā*)—e.g., all the preparation for the murder of an animal by the butcher (the going to the market to buy the beast, etc.), the actual death-dealing blow, and the cutting up and selling of the meat. The act proper alone constitutes the 'path of act'; and hence important consequences arise from the point of view of responsibility.

It is also to be noted that the 'path of act' presupposes accurate knowledge of what one is doing, and is incompatible with a mistake in the person. When one is in doubt whether the thing which he hits is alive or not, he is thinking of destruction, but not of murder. The Jains hold that the man who commits a murder without intent is none the less guilty, just as a man who touches fire is burned.

This, however, would lead to palpable absurdities. The Jain himself would be culpable for preaching terrible austerities; the embryo and the mother would be culpable for making each other suffer; the murdered being himself would be culpable, since he is the origin of the action of murder. Further, a man would not be guilty of murder if he got another person to commit it; for we are not burned if we touch fire by means of another.

All this is very well worked out, but in other things the school is not so wise.

If a man has intercourse with another man's wife, thinking that she is his own, he is not guilty of adultery. If he has intercourse with another's wife while thinking that she is the wife of a third man, opinions differ as to his guilt. Some hold him guilty of adultery, for the wife of another man is the object of the preparation and the object of the indulgence. Others say that there is no adultery, for the object of the preparation and the object of the indulgence are different persons.

The somewhat mechanical and very scholastic character of the Buddhist theory of retribution may be illustrated by the subjective and objective elements in giving.

For a thorough valuation of the merit of giving, or charity (*dāna*), we must take into account (1) the qualities of the giver (faith, morality, learning, etc.), and the manner of giving (with respect, with the right hand, at the opportune moment, etc.); (2) the qualities of the object given (excellence in colour, smell, etc.); and (3) the qualities of the person who receives: (a) excellence in relation to his lot in life; a gift made to an immoral man has 100 times the value of one made to an animal; (b) excellence due to suffering; a gift to an invalid, a person who is cold, etc.; (c) excellence due to services received (parents, preacher of the True Law, etc.); and (d) excellence due to qualities (morality, knowledge, etc.).

There is a hierarchy among acts—e.g., whether one's destiny is human, or infernal, etc., is determined by morality (*śīla*), abstention from murder, etc.). Gifts are only a sort of extra, to assure riches and other enjoyments.

LITERATURE.—*Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*, ch. iv. (tr. in *Muséon*, Louvain, 1914), gives a complete résumé of the doctrine of karma in Buddhism; R. Spence Hardy, *Manual of Buddhism*², London, 1880, p. 461f.; 'Birth Stories' (*Jātakas*) and *Avadānas* contain many details on the retribution of karma; see, e.g., E. Chavannes, *Cinq cents contes et apologues extraits du Tripiṭaka*, Paris, 1911. Every work on the philosophies and religions of India contains some exposition of the doctrine of karma—e.g., E. W. Hopkins, *The Religions of India*, London,

1896, pp. 199, 231, etc.; A. Barth, *The Religions of India*, do. 1882, pp. 77, 110; P. Oltramare, *Hist. des idées théosophiques dans l'Inde*, i. (Paris, 1906) 99, 196; H. C. Warren, *Buddhism in Translations*, Cambridge, Mass., 1896, Index, s.v. 'Karma'; R. C. Childers, *Dict. of the Pali Language*, London, 1875, pp. 178 f., 198. Special mention may be made of the articles by E. W. Hopkins on 'Modifications of the Karma Doctrine' in *JRAS*, 1906, pp. 581-593, 1907, pp. 605-672, which give a clear view of the contradictions and evolution of the doctrine. For the theory of the Jains, who regard action as a subtle matter, see the texts translated by H. Jacobi in *SBE* xxii. [1884] and xlv. [1895], and cf. art. JAINISM.

L. DE LA VALLÉE POUSSIN.

KARMA-MĀRGA.—Of the three ways of salvation as commonly conceived in orthodox Hinduism, *karma-mārga*, *jñāna-mārga*, and *bhakti-mārga*, the first, though least considered by the philosophers, has probably been most followed by the vast bulk of the people. These three ways—though not necessarily inconsistent with each other (in this resembling the respective Gospels of the Apostles James, John, and Paul, with their peculiar stress laid upon the necessity for works, knowledge, and faith), and combined, as in the *Bhagavad-Gītā*, into one consistent system—have usually been placed to some extent in mutual opposition, and may well be treated separately here. In particular, we shall find a certain opposition between works and knowledge; the idea of *bhakti*, loving faith, is of considerably later origin. The doctrine of salvation according to works will best be treated by considering the relative importance attached to it in the different phases of religious development in India, taken in the following order: Rigveda, Brāhmanas, the philosophical Brāhmanic development, the Dharmasāstras as reflecting popular Brāhmanism, and the *Bhagavad-Gītā*. But it must always be borne in mind that no real line of demarcation can be drawn between these periods; each merges insensibly into, or exists contemporaneously with, the other.¹

(1) In the *Rigveda* the gods are concrete, active, anthropomorphic beings; therefore man's attitude towards them must also be something concrete and active. They are not mere abstractions to be apprehended only by the intellect, or by some process of mystical cognition; but they are beings, whose works can be perceived by the ordinary senses, and who must, therefore, be propitiated and appeased by concrete actions. Hence sacrifice, though not as yet grown to unwieldy proportions, is a necessary means to obtaining the favour of the gods, and a share in that after life which, though still misty and undetermined, is the aim of all. Some have seen in the hymns only a simple nature-poetry, others only the accompaniment of an elaborate sacrificial ritual. The truth probably lies in the middle way, that, while many are simple outbursts of devotional feeling, some undoubtedly possess a strictly ritualistic setting.² But sacrifice alone was not sufficient; for to find favour with heaven a man must also be piously minded towards gods and *manes*, liberal towards priests, courageous, and truthful; while in the last book we see the first beginnings of the demand for those ascetic austerities that attained to such a monstrous growth in later times.³

(2) Coming to the *Brāhmanas*, we find a complete change. The sacrifice, now called *karma*, or work *par excellence*, is all-important. It overshadows the whole of life; every action must be regulated with regard to it; and without it nothing can be obtained or hoped for. By its means alone can a man expect to attain salvation, still for the most part looked upon as a material heaven.⁴ Not only men but the gods also are subject to its influence,

¹ Von Schroeder, *Indiens Literatur und Cultur*, p. 291; Hopkins, *Religions of India*, p. 7.

² Cf. Hopkins, p. 13 ff., and literature there quoted.

³ *Rigveda*, x. cliv. 2, cix. 4; Hopkins, p. 143.

⁴ Hopkins, p. 204 ff.

and by it have obtained their present position.¹ Henceforward *karma*, as a way of salvation, always carries with it the connotation of sacrifice and ritual. The intention that accompanies the deed is of no importance, only the deed itself.² At the same time the power of good actions is recognized. In the Brāhmaṇas we meet with the phrase 'man's debts.' These debts are, to the gods, sacrifice; to the seers, study of the Veda; to the *manes*, offspring; to fellow-men, hospitality. Whoever pays them has discharged all his duties, and by him all is obtained, all is won.³

(3) Meanwhile *philosophic speculation* had advanced. The universe was no longer an aggregation of separate material entities. Behind all was one uniform self-existent cause.⁴ Individual souls owe their self-consciousness to the action of ignorance on the primal non-conscious cause, Brahman; the whole material world is the result of illusion. Self-consciousness will continue as long as actions which lead to re-birth (*saṃsāra*) continue.⁵ The aim of religion or philosophy is to free the individual from re-birth and the continuation of self-consciousness. This result can be attained only by knowledge, *jñāna*, a recognition of the essential unity of the seeming individual with Brahman. This is the *jñāna-mārga*, as opposed to the *karma-mārga*, or path of works, which can lead only to re-birth, in accordance with the truth that every action must be followed by its reaction. But, despite this necessity for desisting from action, the Vedāntist recognizes that such a course, at least at first, is not altogether possible. By a right series of actions the searcher after salvation may fit himself to proceed to the higher knowledge: the *karma-mārga* leads into the *jñāna-mārga*, by which alone the goal is to be reached. Rāmānuja, in his commentary on the *Vedānta-sūtra*, says:

'For the fact is that the enquiry into Brahman—the fruit of which enquiry is infinite in nature and permanent—follows immediately in the case of him who, having read the Veda together with its auxiliary disciplines [i.e. that part of religious literature dealing with actions, the *karma-kāṇḍa*], has reached the knowledge that the fruit of mere works is limited and non-permanent, and hence has conceived the desire of final release.'⁶

But, since actions may lead to the higher path of knowledge, where is to be found the authority to decide the kind of actions necessary? This is the Veda. Speaking of the authority of the Veda, Sāṅkara says:

'Here others raise the following objection:—Although the Veda is the means of gaining a right knowledge of Brahman, yet it intimates Brahman only as the object of certain injunctions. . . . Why so? Because the Veda has the purport of either instigating to action or restraining from it.'⁷

But to make the Veda the final authority by no means solves all difficulties. The great bulk of the *karma* prescribed by the Veda consists of sacrifice. To begin with, there can be little doubt that before and during the time of the composition of the Brāhmaṇas, among Brāhmanas belonging to different schools and different localities, different sacrificial customs had arisen, but that, after the Brāhmaṇas had been composed and had acquired some sort of general authority, it was felt necessary to reconcile these outside sacrificial practices with those prescribed by the Brāhmaṇas. Further, even within the Veda itself was to be found a mass of bewildering inconsistencies—a fact not surprising, when we consider the great differences in time, authorship, and purpose. The difficulties thus arising were many. A few of the more typical may be men-

tioned. It sometimes happened that the Brāhmaṇa-passage describing the action of a certain sacrifice was not always in harmony with the *mantra* to be recited during the performance:

'The Brāhmaṇa-passage maintains that from out a series of sacrificial acts a certain one is to be performed in the sixth place, while in the section that contains the *mantras* accompanying the series of acts the *mantra* referring to the particular act occupies the tenth place.'¹

Again, it may not be made quite clear who it is that must perform the sacrifice, or how exactly any one of the numerous modifications of the typical sacrifices, which the Veda describes in full detail, is to be performed. The necessity for clearing up all such obscure points led to the formation of a set of rules, in accordance with which it was possible to settle disputed points without impugning in any way the authority of the Veda.

'So for instance . . . it is laid down that, whenever the place of the *mantras* accompanying a certain action and the place assigned to the action by a Brāhmaṇa-passage are in conflict, the *mantra* is to have greater weight than the Brāhmaṇa, because the former, being actually recited during the sacrifice, is connected with it more intimately than the latter, which is not directly used during the performance.'²

These rules, and the principles lying behind them, are collected in the *sūtras* of Jaimini, which form the ground of the *Pūrva-mīmāṃsā*, or 'Preliminary Investigation,' as opposed to the *Uttara-mīmāṃsā*, or 'Secondary Investigation' (i.e. into the nature of Brahman); for the necessity of works comes before the necessity of knowledge. The *Pūrva-mīmāṃsaka* devoted considerable attention to the criteria of knowledge. They are five in number: sense-perception, inference, comparison, presumption, and verbal information, with sometimes a sixth—non-existence. But of only one do they make considerable use—*śabda*, or verbal information, i.e. Scripture. For duty cannot rest on human authority, which is fallible, but must rest on some infallible authority, and this is found only in the Veda. Hence there follows the necessity of proving the infallibility and superhuman origin (*apauruṣeyatva*) of the Veda (for a discussion of the proof see Max Müller, *Six Systems of Indian Philosophy*, p. 270 ff.). For the rest the *Mīmāṃsā* is occupied with the explanation and conciliation, in accordance with those principles of interpretation and authority, of apparently conflicting instructions and statements contained in the Veda.

(4) We have now reached a point at which we can consider how these two different religious attitudes—salvation according to works and salvation according to knowledge—were combined into one consistent system for the practical purposes of everyday life. This is seen in the precepts of the *Dharmasāstras*—books dealing with religious and social duties. In this respect their prescriptions concern only the three upper—or Aryan—castes; neither with the *karma-mārga* nor with the *jñāna-mārga* has the Śūdra anything to do. For the Aryan it was necessary as a boy to study the Veda; as a householder to perform sacrifices; and, finally, there was an ever-growing desire to spend the last few years of life in the quiet shelter of the forest, or as a beggar, wandering from village to village, ever in search of that knowledge of his own unity with the universal Brahman which alone could bring final release from the cycle of birth and death. In this way, with the passing of time the life of an Aryan came to be divided into four definite stages, called *āśramas*. At a certain age, which varied with the caste to which the boy belonged (for the Brāhman the eighth to the tenth year), the young Aryan was sent to the house of a Brāhman, there to live and be taught the Veda. For a period which might vary from twelve to forty-eight years,³ the student must remain with his teacher, whom it was

¹ *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, III. I. 4. 3, IV. iii. 2. 5; *Āitareya Br.* II. I. 1.

² *Sat. Br.* I. vi. 3. 8.

³ *Ib.* I. vii. 2. 1 ff.; Hopkins, p. 202 f.

⁴ See art. *VEDĀNTA* and *SĀṆKHYA*.

⁵ See art. *KARMA*.

⁶ *SBE* xlviii. [1904] 3 f.

⁷ *SBE* xxxiv. [1890] 23 f.; cf. also the Bhāṣya on *Jaimini-sūtra*, I. I. 2. 5, quoted by Sāṅkara.

¹ Thibaut, *Arthasaṅgraha*, p. iv.

² *Ib.* p. v.

³ *Āpastamba-dharmasūtra*, I. I. 2. 12-16.

his constant duty to help and care for. In return for this the teacher, called the *guru*, instructed the student, or *brahmachārin*, in the knowledge of the Veda. At the end of his time of study the *brahmachārin* left the house of his *guru*, and with the title of *śrūtaka*, 'one who has bathed,' entered into the *āśrama* of a *ghastha*, 'householder.' Now, in addition to the duties which he owed his family, he had to engage in a definite series of sacrifices addressed to the gods and the spirits of his ancestors. But, when his sons were grown up and could themselves found families, his duties were finished; the end of the way of works was already in sight. With or without his wife he might now take refuge in the forest as a *vānaprastha*; freed from almost all duties and sacred rites, he was at liberty to spend his days in meditation. Last of all, renouncing every remaining duty, he was ready to enter the final stage of a *sannyāsin*, and to leave behind him for ever the *karma-mārga*, free to travel along the path of knowledge, wandering from village to village, until death removed the last barrier that prevented his absorption into the universal Brahman. In this way the journey, taken by not a few, began upon the path of works and ended upon the path of knowledge.

(5) Lastly, we have to consider the doctrine of works as it appears in the *Bhagavad-Gītā*. Hitherto the works that have been included under the designation of *karma* have been chiefly the sacrifices and general religious duties laid down in the *Brāhmaṇas* and the law-books, and they have been performed entirely for the sake of the performer. In the *Bhagavad-Gītā* we meet with a completely different conception. Knowledge is no longer the only way that leads to salvation; that may be reached also through *bhakti* (loving faith), or by works. But works, to be efficacious for salvation, must be disinterested. The *karma-yoga*, as this rule of works is called, has two phases. In the first the follower of the rule must discharge all his religious and social duties in utter indifference and unattachment to their fruits. He makes a sacrifice to the Lord of all his works, so that they no longer bind his soul to existence. Thus detached from all desires, he gains final redemption. The following verse is typical:

'This world is fettered by works, save in the work that has for its end the sacrifice. Work to this end thou fulfil, O son of Kuntī, free from attachment'—in the words of the Christian: 'Whether therefore ye eat, or drink, or whatsoever ye do, do all to the glory of God.'² For a fuller discussion of this see art. BHAGAVAD-GĪTĀ.

The attitude of Buddhism differs little in this respect. In fact, one may reasonably surmise that the author of the *Bhagavad-Gītā* was influenced by Buddhist doctrines. Selfishness is the one thing that the Buddhist must avoid; acts performed with reference to self only bind the doer more firmly to the wheel of existence; but works of unselfish love are without effect, except in so far as they bring the worker nearer that absolute detachment which alone can open the gates of *nirvāṇa*.

'Our mind shall not waver. No evil speech will we utter. Tender and compassionate will we abide, loving in heart, void of malice within . . . and with that feeling [love] as a basis, we will ever be suffusing the whole world with thought of love, far-reaching, grown great, beyond measure, void of anger and ill-will.'³

To-day in India we may still find the old contrast between the path of knowledge and the path of works. There is the philosopher, who sits meditating on the infinite and awaiting the moment of final salvation; and there is the peasant, sacrificing his goats to Siva or to Kālī, and punctiliously performing the multifarious round of prescribed duties in his journey along the *karma-mārga*, by

which he hopes in the next birth to obtain a better position on the wheel of life.

LITERATURE.—Cf. art. ĀSRAMA, BHAGAVAD-GĪTĀ, BHARTI-MĀRGA, BUDDHISM, JĀNANA-MĀRGA, KARMA, MIMĀṂSĀ, and NYĀYA. For *Rigveda* and *Brāhmaṇas*: E. W. Hopkins, *The Religions of India*, London, 1896, pp. 3-23, 147 ff., 199-207; *SBE* xxix. [1886] and xxx. [1892] *passim*, for a minute description of sacrificial ritual. For *Pūrva-mīmāṃsā*: Max Müller, *Six Systems of Indian Philosophy*, London, 1899, ch. v.; G. Thibaut, *Arthasamgraha*, Benares, 1882 (Introd. and text); *SBE* xxxviii. [1896], Introd., *passim*; E. B. Cowell and A. E. Gough, *Sarva-Darśana-Samgraha*, London, 1882, ch. xii. For the Four Āśramas: *SBE* xxv. [1886] chs. ii-vi.; L. von Schroeder, *Indische Literatur und Cultur*, Leipzig, 1887, p. 202 ff. For *Karma-yoga*: R. Garbe, *Die Bhagavadgītā*, Leipzig, 1905, pp. 49-54; L. D. Barnett, *Bhagavadgītā*, London, 1905, pp. 64-71. R. L. TURNER.

KARMA-TIANS.—See CARMATIANS.

KARNAPRAYĀG (Skr. *Karnaprayāga*, 'the sacred river junction of Karṇa').—A place in the British Himālayan province of Garhwāl in N. India, situated at the junction of the Alaknandā (q.v.) and the Pindar rivers; lat. 30° 16' N., long. 79° 15' E., at an elevation of 2300 ft. above sea-level. It is an important place of pilgrimage on the upper sources of the Ganges.

As its name denotes, it is connected with the legend of Karṇa, half-brother of the Pāṇḍava heroes of the *Mahābhārata* epic. He was the son of Kuntī by Sūrya, the sun-god, and was born fully equipped with arms and armour. He was exposed by his mother, and reared by Nandana or Adhiratha, charioteer of the warrior Dhṛtarāṣṭra. Indra, in the disguise of a Brāhman, induced him to surrender his divine cuirass, and gave him in return a magical javelin charged with certain death to the enemy. Karṇa fought in the great war, and was finally slain by a crescent-shaped arrow discharged by Arjuna. The region from which the streams which form the Ganges rise is closely associated with the story of the Pāṇḍavas, and many places, like this, are supposed to gain their sanctity from them and their companions. The temple dedicated to the hero and some other remains are of no architectural importance.

LITERATURE.—E. T. Atkinson, *Himalayan Gaz.* iii. [Allahabad, 1886] 394 f.; A. Führer, *Mon. Antiq. and Inscr. N.W.P. and Oudh*, do. 1891, p. 45; *IGI* xv. [1908] 60. For the legend of Karṇa see J. Dowson, *Classical Dictionary*, London, 1879, p. 150 f. W. CROOKE.

KATABANIANS.—See SABĒANS.

KATĀS (according to Cunningham, from Skr. *kaṭākṣa*, 'sidelong glance').—One of the famous places of pilgrimage in N. Panjāb, a holy pool in the Jhīlam District; lat. 32° 43' N., long. 71° 59' E. The name is derived, according to the Brāhmanical legend, from the fact that Siva was so inconsolable at the loss of his wife, Sati, that the tears falling from his eyes formed the sacred lake Puskara, or Pokhar, and the Katākṣa pool. The place has been identified with the Śaṅg-ho-pu-lo, or Sinhapura, of Hiuen Tsiang (S. Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, London, 1906, i. 143 f.); but the question of distances renders this improbable.

The Sat-ghara, or "seven temples," are attributed to the Pāṇḍus, who are said to have lived at Katās during a portion of their twelve years' wanderings. On examining the place carefully I found the remains of no less than twelve temples, which are clustered together in the north-east corner of the old fort. Their general style is similar to that of the Kashmir temples, of which the chief characteristics are dentils, trefoil arches, fluted pillars, and pointed roofs, all of which are found in the temples of Katās and of other places in the Salt Range. Unfortunately these temples are so much ruined that it is impossible to make out their details with any accuracy; but enough is left to show that they belong to the later style of Kashmirian architecture which prevailed under the Karkota and Varman dynasties from A.D. 625 to 989 (A. Cunningham, *Arch. Survey Reports*, ii. [1871] 189).

LITERATURE.—Besides Cunningham's *Report* quoted above, see *Gaz. Jhīlam District*, Lahore, 1883-84, p. 36 ff.; *IGI* xv. [1908] 160 f. W. CROOKE.

¹ *Bhagavad-Gītā*, tr. Barnett, iii. 9.

² 1 Co 10³¹.

³ *Majjhima-nikāya*, i. 129, tr. Rhys Davids.

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so that we can hardly realize the ancient confusion of thought. To understand the ancients we must set aside all chemical ideas, and regard stones only in their colour and hardness. Such a position must confound together materials entirely different, and divide identical substances which differ in colour. Thus the Egyptians had but one word, *mafkat*, for turquoise and malachite, a phosphate of alumina and carbonate of copper.

The questions about the ancient names and their modern equivalents are difficult to settle owing to the confusion of substances which look alike. The actual ancient usage of materials must be the guide, as it is impossible to connect with ancient names any gems that were then unknown. For the equivalents of the Biblical names see art. 'Stones, Precious,' in *HDB*.

1. *Egypt*.—In Egypt several stones are named anciently with specimens, and some others are named as the material for amulets which are regularly of one material. Thus we can be certain of *sef*, white quartz; *sef taken*, amethyst; *khenem*, red jasper, or sard; *hersed*, carnelian; *khesdeb*, lazuli; *gesonkh*, a variety of lazuli; *nemehen*, jade; *qo* or *qada*, hæmatite; *neshen* or *mafkat neshen*, green felspar and beryl; *mafkat* of Syria, malachite; *mafkat* of Amen, turquoise; the last two may be perhaps reversed. The use of some stones was almost constant for certain amulets—carnelian or sard for the leg, hand, name-badge, and serpent-head; jasper, or imitation in red glass, for the girdle of Isis and the sacrificial cow; diorite for clothing; green felspar or beryl for the papyrus sceptre and the writing tablet; lazuli for figures of goddesses and the cartouche; hæmatite for the head-rest, square and level; obsidian for the double feather and *sma* sign of union. The reasons for such usage can be guessed in some cases: the green stones symbolized verdure and growth; the red jasper is called 'the blood of Isis'; the weighty hæmatite is for the repose of sleep or of levelled building; the flesh-coloured carnelian for the hand and leg. Some of these amulets are ordered to be made of such materials in the directions in the *Book of the Dead*.

2. *Italy*.—Italy is the land of which we know most regarding amulets, anciently from Pliny, recently from Bellucci. The ancient ideas attaching to stones are: diamond for poison or delirium; hæmatite for success in petitions or to reveal treachery; siderites (black hæmatite or meteorite) to cause discord in law-suits; brown hydrous oxide of iron (limonite) for pregnancy; quartz crystal for parturition; amethyst and emerald for intoxication, against spells, hail, and locusts, and for access to kings; agate against scorpions; jasper for public speaking; blood jasper for invisibility; black jasper for taking cities and fleets; yellow quartz against jaundice; amianthus against spells; serpentine against headache and serpent-bites; white steatite for increase of milk; malachite for preserving infants; amber for throat affections, and against fevers; ammonite for prophetic dreams.

In modern Italy pyrites is used to preserve the eyes; red hæmatite stops bleeding; black hæmatite is for the evil eye; limonite for pregnancy; sapphire is for headache, and promotes contentment; quartz crystal for evil eye; white chalcodony for milk; red chalcodony for bleeding; agate eyestone for evil eye; blood jasper to stop bleeding; black jasper against lightning; staurolite against witchery; nephrite for kidney disease; garnet for widows, and comfort in misfortune; serpentine against reptiles; malachite for the evil eye; dendrite against venom; selenite for increase of milk; amber against witchery; white coral for increase of milk; red coral for menstruation and

evil eye; madrepore against witchery and worms. Obviously the use of a large part of these is due to 'sympathetic magic,' or, as it may better be called, 'the doctrine of similars.' A considerable revival of fancy beliefs about gems has occurred in recent times among the ignorant and superstitious of wealthy classes in Europe and America. There is little or nothing collected as to traditional beliefs about stones in other lands outside of Italy.

3. *Motives for use of gems*.—An examination of subjects engraved upon gems throws some light on the purposes for which they were worn. For this inquiry the number of occurrences of a subject in Furtwängler's great catalogue may be taken, supplemented by a few published in Petrie's *Amulets*.

Strength and love seem to have been the great motives, Herakles and Eros each occurring 173 times. Far below these come wisdom, with 75 of Athene and Minerva; Selenos (66) for good living; Hermes and Mercury (63) for trade; Apollo (61) for music; and Daimon (53) for propitiation of evil; Dionysos (53) for mysteries; Nike and Victory (53) come next; and, strangely, Aphrodite comes as low as 52. Of the lesser classes are Gorgoneia and Medusa (45), Psyche (31), Artemis (29), Menad and Bacchantes (28), Bes (18), Siren (17), Zeus (16), Perseus (15), Isis (14), Nereid (14), Ares and Mars (13), Bonus Eventus (11), Serapis (11), Pan (10), Nemesis (9), Cerberus (8), Eos (6), Harpocrates (6), Helios (5), Leda (5), Fortuna (5), Tyche (5), Asklepios (4), Dioscuri (4), Triton (4), Ganymede (4), Hephaistos (3), Hera (3), Hekate (3), Agathodaimon (3), lion-headed serpent (3), Ceres (2), Abundantia (2), Europa (2), Thanatos (2), and one each Adonis, Orpheus, Osiris, Anubis, and Set.

It is surprising how popular some deities were, nine surpassing Aphrodite; while Zeus, Asklepios, Fortuna, and Ceres were strangely neglected.

LITERATURE.—Pliny, *HN*; G. Bellucci, *Amuleti italiani contemporanei: Catalogo della collezione*, etc., Perugia, 1898, *Gli Amuleti*, do. 1903, *Il Feticismo primitivo in Italia*, do. 1907; A. Furtwängler, *Die antiken Gemmen*, 3 vols., Leipzig, 1906; W. M. F. Petrie, *Amulets*, London, 1914.

W. M. F. PETRIE.

PREDESTINATION.—I. IDEA AND PARTS.

—1. *Idea*.—The idea of predestination bulks largely in the history of religious thought. Recently it has grown in interest. It has come down to us in two connotations, the one more strictly theological, the other more purely philosophical; and in both references severer definition demonstrates the reasonableness of its essential truth.

(a) As a technical term in theology the word stands for that voluntary act of the divine will whereby God predetermines or foreordains whatsoever comes to pass, and in particular the destinies of the good and evil.¹ The inclusion of the reprobation of the wicked has lent the term an ill savour. Shorn of this part, the dogma remains, the divergences of the schools in other points appearing less firm under the pressing practical and social needs of the modern Church. The predominant tendency is to identify this, the redemptive, aspect of predestination with election (*q.v.*), and to use the three terms—'predestination,' 'foreordination,' 'election'—as synonyms.

(b) In its philosophical character the word stands for a conception much more comprehensive and profound, viz. that original all-inclusive definite purpose of God and act of His all-holy will to manifest His glory in self-revelation, which self-revelation takes effect by stages in time, appearing not only in redemption, but in creation and providence as well. Here the idea is not given immediately in experience, but emerges in reflexion upon it and has in consequence to vindicate its rational validity. It has won favour under the ægis of the modern discipline of the philosophy of religion, its subject-matter furnishing one of the indispensable problems of that important science, where its claims are strengthened by several currents of the deeper thought of the age,

¹ The *Westminster Confession* used 'predestination' only 'to eternal life,' 'foreordination' 'to eternal death.'

the philosophy of nature and of history, comparative religion, the higher mysticism, man's tragic experience of life. The history of theism, moreover, shows predestinarianism to be an invariable concomitant of that form of religious thought, and to be as fundamental to theism as its other features. As theistic reconstruction proceeds, the idea of predestination correspondingly gains.

Note on the term.—The term 'predestination' has long been in disrepute, and for three reasons: etymologically it is unscriptural, theologically it is depraved in meaning, and philosophically it is not sufficiently distinctive. The word is not in the Bible. The verb and noun come from the Patristic period; the verb through the Vulgate won its way hesitatingly into the AV; in the RV its place is taken by 'foreordain.' The Latin *predestinare* translates the Greek *προορίζω*—a better translation is *προϋκρίνω*. Then, in meaning, two declensions have occurred: *προορίζω* does not include 'reprobation,' while *predestinare* has come to include it; on the other hand, popularly the term has lost the larger reference to the totality of divine self-revelation other than that in redemption. Further, the speculative understanding finds the theological controversial taint of the term repugnant, and prefers to argue for the idea under other names.

Is this disparagement wise? Three considerations may help to a negative answer. (1) Both Hebrew Wisdom and Christian theology worked out a large conception of God's relation to the world and to man as part of the world, which it was found difficult to embody in a single word. Accordingly, in both developments there occur a number of terms each of which conveys some special nuance of the general idea, for that is how the religious consciousness works. The philosophic consciousness, on the other hand, desiderates a term for the idea in its largest breadth; that is its nature. In Hebrew probably the nearest equivalent is *נָצַח*. In Greek in the NT there is none; hence Patristic thought coined 'predestination' precisely as in the case of another doctrine, that of the Person of Christ, is coined *ὁμοούσιος*.

(2) If 'foreordination' be interpreted in a purely religious sense as the equivalent of election, referring to man's salvation from sin by grace, then it is not adequate to the whole idea intended in 'predestination.' God gathered His own in His electing will; but He has other activities in creation and providence, and, if these have a relation to redemption, they also have independent relations to God and each other, and, as such, have their ground in the divine will—a fact unrecognized in 'foreordination,' which, even if it be of wider compass than 'election,' embracing the reference of the divine predetermination of the works of creation and providence to that of redemption as its preparatory stages, is still inadequate to the whole idea of 'predestination.'

(3) The philosophical demand for stricter definition is not due simply to prejudice; there is a real need in the interests of truth to separate clearly the facts of religious experience from inferences deducible from them. The speculative impulse and the religious instinct move in different spheres and speak best each in its own tongue. The above contention is corroborated by the history of predestinarianism. The three greatest protagonists are St. Augustine, Calvin, and Jonathan Edwards (*qq.v.*). The special worth of these three is to have combined in an unusual degree the religious and intellectual powers; they all feel the need of this term 'predestination.' It is noteworthy in this connexion that, in those forms of pure philosophy in which the spiritual aspect of existence has justice done to it, idealism becomes predestinationism—as, e.g., in the German succession from Kant, through Schelling and Krause, to Lotze; and that those forms of theology in which philosophy finds a constituent place exhibit the same tendency—as, e.g., in the theosophy of F. X. von Baader or the ethics of R. Rothe.²

2. Parts.—The predestination idea comprises two parts: (a) prescience, and (b) prevenience.

(a) *Prescience.*—'Foreknowledge' (*πρόγνωσις*) is a necessity of God's omniscience. It is involved in His knowledge of Himself and of His own will, and the immutability of His knowledge; for He sees all things future in the mirror of His will, and has never at any time been ignorant of what He was to do and what would be the consequences. Foreknowledge of the actions of free agents has sometimes been excluded from the idea of God's omniscience on the ground of its alleged inconsistency with human freedom,³ and indeed the difficulty of explaining how actions are free yet ordained has never been solved. But that God has perfect foreknowledge of all events and that man has free agency, implied in moral responsibility.

¹ *Spekulative Dogmatik*, pt. i., Stuttgart, 1828, pts. ii.-v., Münster, 1830-38.

² *Theologische Ethik*, 5 vols., Wittenberg, 1867-71. For this and the above English readers may consult O. Pfeiderer, *The Philosophy of Religion*, London, 1886-88, vols. i.-iv.

³ E.g., by the Socinians, Rothe, Martensen, etc.

bility, are truths supported by sufficient and appropriate evidence, although we may not be able to compose their harmony until our knowledge is such as God has. His foresight need not lessen man's freedom, if freedom be understood not as simple self-will, but as the growing faculty of co-operating with the divine purpose. That purpose is working out a higher thing than can be wrought between precise forecast and exact fulfilment; it is rather the evolution of men's free intellectual and emotional life, adapting them to their environment and improving their conditions. We can conceive of God influencing His whole creation in this way, persuading every grade of living things to assimilate more and more of His life-force, and go forward in the full tide of progress, while they are still free to close their pores, so to say, to His wisdom and life that encircle them as an atmosphere.

Such a purpose etches itself out against a background of much that seems purposeless, where much happens that is not His will but the will of an autonomous creature not yet won by His persuasive agency. As the divine knowledge is intuitive, not inferential, free, not necessitated, we are bound to assign to it the prescience of all things and all relations of things, of all actions and all conditions of actions.¹

(b) *Prevenience.*—Again, the premotion² of God is a necessity of His omnipotence. Predestination is no mere idea in God—not simply His resolve to enter on modes of self-revealing activity; it is also action creative of creaturely destinies and productive of His eternal purpose; it is the actual acting upon His resolve, action whereby He is the immanent spirit in all nature, history, life. We note, further, that God's prescience and prevenience exclude the deistic and naturalistic formulations of His relation to the world, since both deny His active presence in it, as certainly as they exclude the pantheistic formulation which regards the world as illusion, emanation, or self-evolution of God. Thus it will be seen that in the predestination idea lies the thought that all the works of God form one whole and move to one goal, that all find their ground in His attributes, their cause in His will, that all are the issue of one presupposition in the divine nature. How do we affirm this? Religious experience postulates it as the basis of its certainty (predestination in redemption); philosophical reflexion postulates it as the integral ground of its view of the world and man's history (predestination in creation and providence). The word 'predestination' sums up both postulates and witnesses to secret affinities between the natural and revealed wills of God, wherein the realities both of reason and of faith find their ultimate reconciliation.

II. *SOURCE AND ISSUES.*—I. *Source.*—Here two points require to be noted. Predestination has its origin in the divine nature alone, and there alone in the divine attributes. God's act of resolving to enter upon the various modes of His self-revealing activity is a free yet responsible act.

¹ This excludes the celebrated distinction of *scientia media*, the proper discussion of which falls in connexion with the divine omniscience. It was invented by the Jesuits, defended and propagated by the Molinists, assailed by the Spanish Dominicans, and at a conference in Rome convened by Pope Clement viii. was condemned. The agitation continued. The Arminians of Holland spread the view among the Reformers. In England it spread widely in the 16th century (see J. Strang, *De Voluntate et Actionibus Dei circa peccatum*, Amsterdam, 1657). The hypothesis of *scientia media* is untenable. There can be no such intermediate knowledge, all knowledge being either necessary or free. Again, as inferential knowledge it cannot worthily be ascribed to God, whose knowledge is intuitive. He knows all the relations of things, but does not reason out those relations in the act of knowing.

² The favourite term in Scholasticism for 'prevenience.' St. Thomas Aquinas discusses it with fullness. Cf. also the controversy of Malebranche with Boursier.

to which He is determined by nothing outside of Himself, or alien to His nature, and by nothing in the way of an internal necessity of His being, or of any defect in His being, except the insistence of His own gracious character and good pleasure. There is no life outside the divine life. The life of God is inclusive of all life. It is a life with Himself alone and within Himself alone. In the vastest area of being there are no reaches beyond His boundless being or beyond the causation and control of His will. The whole actual and possible universe is at the last a monistic system, centring in a single truth to which everything in it may be referred. That truth is the one and absolute Being, who comprehends all being, the substance of all existence, God. God thus is not one side by side with others, whether like Him or unlike, co-equal or prepotent, relationship with whom He is bound to recognize and consider in His own action. He is God; and 'beside Him there is none other.' To be Himself is the sublimest glory conceivable. To go forth continually in self-manifestation is His constant good pleasure or will. Such a Being, overflowing with the sense of His beauty and infinite blessedness, must communicate Himself in love in every form and degree possible through which the features of His life may shine. His self-exhibition and self-communication are the only and original necessities of His action, and these reside in His own nature.

From that fact it follows that those original necessities operate in accord with the divine attributes and with nothing else—power, justice, wisdom, holiness, love. God is not all-powerful in the sense that He can do anything. He does what He likes, but He likes only what is according to His character, that which is true, just, holy. There can be no caprice in His action, for His will learns from His wisdom and works out what is just. His power is at the service of an idea which gives to His endeavour stability and worth. There can be no question here of His predetermining any thing or person to what is contrary to His character. The attributes of God, since they alone regulate His action, are the basal principles of existence and the supreme categories of thought, which takes origin in their exercise. All finite existences through which He designs to manifest and to bestow His life, founded in the qualities of His nature, find their real principles, their *ratio essendi*, there, and represent each one or more of those divine qualities. All life is rooted in the divine Being, is in Him an organic whole, and includes the life of nature, of history, of humanity, in which He displays His power, wisdom, righteousness, truth, goodness, and love, and no attributes opposed to these. All these lives are independent unities within their own spheres, yet related to one another in the all-embracing whole, which is neither identical with God nor separate from Him, but in which He is so present (and it in Him) that He is not merely the cause of it and all its parts, but is its and their immanent and active ground, so that they truly appear as His finite expression and image through a series of ascending stages in an organic process which tends to His honour and glory.

2. Issues.—Such is the divine design. The method of accomplishing it science and philosophy unfold. To their investigation nature, history, and man are all separate if related economies, susceptible of distinctive analysis—a task to which the modern spirit has addressed itself with eagerness. Here we are concerned only with an inductive generalization of broad results. These would appear to be three: (1) God works towards an end through means; (2) He employs means in a graded succession in time; (3) the character of the end

displays the principle of the whole and motives the effort of progress towards it. If these results be kept in view, we shall be led in the path of a true theism and a right predestination. The universal dualism deeply seated in the entire constitution of things cannot be denied; it raises the problems. There are speculative systems that easily set it aside, in the way of logic joining opposites that are held to be originally one; but by such logical redemption no strength is given to human thought or moral aims. Theistic monism cannot thus proceed; it must show the dualism overcome in the way of historical fact and moral process, such that God is seen to be all in all, realizing Himself in His attributes in finite forms through the free play and independent life of their internal forces.¹ The steps of the proof are clear. The physical creation, operating freely within limits imposed only by its own material, is an orderly system working out its special end in man. Man is the living synthesis of nature, which in all its parts prefigures him, and in its functions aspires to what is only satisfied in him. History is characterized by the same independent interplay of all her forces and moves on under laws which reduce the acts of the countless conscious subjects who make events to a world of order, the progress of which is the evolution of the spiritual man. Man himself, granted that he is by nature a divided and complex being, is nevertheless in the healthy personality one. Aim, will, resolve, make him a complete unit; as mind or will he is a whole; and the more he advances in intelligence and ethical power, the better he is fulfilling the ideal of his own life, and responding to the preparatory movements beneath the human sphere which have gradually disclosed it. Humanity is thus the final cause of the world, history, human nature. Now, as it belongs to the nature of God to actualize Himself in humanity, the human spirit, as it descends into the depths of its own being, recognizes itself to be divine in principle. The perfect consciousness of this we see in Christ, and owe to Him. He made known to man his inborn divinity. His incarnation exhibits the unity of the divine and human. That consciousness comes first in a single individual, in isolated form, a present divine fact, serving to stimulate the human spirit to new life. The last consideration is of the highest importance. It contradicts all ideas which resolve the revelation of God in Christ into a general fact belonging to the phenomenology of spirit, and implies the personal God communicating Himself in dynamic force in positive historical form. Man has not grown into the consciousness of his own divinity; it has been revealed to him. Revelation is not simply an extension of the knowledge of God; it brings in an actual economy of grace as actively employed in the redeeming of men. Only by a sum of saving acts, unfolding His mind and will, can the living God become fully unveiled. In this sense Christianity alone is the revelation of God's redemptive love, since the whole person of Christ—His words, works, death, resurrection, exaltation—serves to bring into actual view the will of God as concerned in the salvation of men. Not through Christ merely, but in Him, in the undivided whole of His personality and history, as 'Head over all things to the Church,' God was reconciling the world to Himself. The Christological element leads us to regard the will of God for our salvation not as abstract, but as personal and positive in His Son. That, however, could not have happened haphazard in the divine mind; as it was essential

¹ The first thinker clearly to expound this position was the Italian G. B. Vico; cf. his 'La scienza nuova,' in *Opere*, ed. G. Ferrari, Milan, 1835-37; R. Flint, *Vico*, in Blackwood's 'Philosophical Classics,' Edinburgh, 1884.

to the setting forth of His glory, it was 'before the foundation of the world,' by His determinate counsel; and it determined the foundation of the world and the subsequent fortunes of all therein. Predestination is by the will of God, in an organic process,¹ in Christ who is its primal and final principle.

III. *SIGNIFICANCE*.—I. For the idea of God.—The predestination idea safeguards three factors in the relation of God to the world: (a) His free agency and responsibility in His activities, (b) His co-operation with His creatures in their true life, and (c) His efficiency in the fulfilment of His purpose.

(a) *Arbitrariness* has been associated with God's predestination. Yet predestination forbids arbitrary caprice on His part. The great advocates of its truth know nothing of arbitrary acts of God. The acts of God, they argue, are consistent with the character of God; the nature of God is prior to His laws, and His nature and character are of the absolute and perfect good. *Inscrutability* has been associated with predestination, as a cover for any injustice that may emerge in its issues. Now, while on any theory of the universe the last reasons of the constitution and course of things must always be sought for in the council of an eternal wisdom which it is beyond our capacity to fathom, and therefore inscrutable, in the inscrutability there can be no injustice or partiality; for those reasons are the outcome of an eternal wisdom, righteousness, love. God's action here can never be that of a selfish man. He acts according to His glory, which cannot be dissociated from His nature as absolute good. In that character His moral perfection implies an absence of arbitrary or unjust act. *Indeterminism* has been associated with predestination. But God cannot act as an indeterminate power. He is intrinsically and necessarily good—not by necessity, but freely, because He wills the freedom which lends His action its ethical character. The necessity which keeps Him from evil is moral—conformity to love, goodness, holiness.

In contradistinction from these, the divine predestination is an act of *sovereignty*, in the exercise of which God shows only mercy and goodness. Sovereignty is not simple supremacy; it is the sphere of divine freedom whence issues only blessing,² for there divine procedure is not limited by considerations of man's excellences or sins.

(b) God's blessing us is His co-operation with us to cultivate in us His life. As in Him, so in man, true life is attained by a combination of necessity and freedom. Man everywhere, as he ascends in intelligence, is inwardly conscious that He is able to do right. He is also convinced that God is on the side of the right. The tendency to excellency of life indicates God's will. It grows in man by his response which he makes in his freedom as he directs himself more perfectly towards God. Yet it is not simply by his desire and aspiration and the efforts born of these that he ascends, but also by their satisfaction in the answering care and recreative energy of creative love. These experiences point to the transcendent truth that creation was with God from all time, came from God, is in part turning of its own will towards God, is in part ever turning more and more consciously towards Him, and becomes at last completely, self-consciously, at one with God in will—the doctrine of the Logos, the hope of the eschatologist, the dream of the mystic.

(c) Is it but a hope and a dream? Can God's

purpose fail? Our conception of *omnipotence* must be modelled on what we know of finite power, though not limited by it. In our experience the secret of power lies in the ability to conceive the end in view and to regulate action towards that end. Those are not absent from God. For the creation of the finite He is responsible. He has chosen to create it not a passive thing, but a life with a way of its own. Why should we not believe that it is only the possibility, not the actuality, of evil that is necessary? If the end which God has in view is a form of life produced by the ability to co-operate with or to resist Him, it must be part of His omnipotence to be able to give the ability to resist Him. The resistance would be evil. In so far the Creator is responsible for the possibility of evil and its attendant risks. On the other hand, the divine prescience cannot be conceived as dim or vague, or the divine blessedness as uncertainly fluctuating with the uncertainties of men's choices, as Calvin asks, 'How can the contingent affect the First Cause on which it entirely depends?' The possibility of future failure on His part must, therefore, be limited. God must be credited with provision against the results of all possible disaster. Is not fatherhood the best symbol of omnipotence? His creation must not finish in itself, but must go on to recreation—a consummation visible in Christ and Christian humanity, in whom 'the whole world is reconciled to God.'

God, then, has willed all men to be saved. He has predestinated all men and things in His Son. Creation is prelude to incarnation, and was never designed to furnish occasion for irreformable sinners. In the foreordination as in the judgment God might say, 'I never knew you sinners.' He has contemplated all in Christ; He has foreknown all in Christ; He has loved all in Christ; He has elected all in Christ; and by the one same act. He has taken every possible means to fulfil that act with success. Through creation, history, redemption, He has gradually exhibited and communicated His life to men, to raise men to its likeness step by step. Respecting his liberty God forces no man, yet presciently and preventively seeks to persuade men. He reserves also the right to intervene by His omniscience and omnipotence in order to avert thoroughgoing disaster. Both courses He takes in the exercise of His sovereignty, which is the field of His freedom. That 'preferential action'¹ of His can fail only if the infinite resourcefulness of His nature fails—a result inconceivable.²

2. For the idea of man.—The predestination idea yields two precious assurances for man's conviction along with a grave warning: (a) the certainty of his practical freedom of will, (b) the ability to attain his destiny, (c) the fact of failure as both possible and permissible.

(a) *Necessity* has been associated with predestination. The problem that it raises is perennial. Its reproach no system can roll away from itself. As the divine Being is a harmony of necessity and freedom, so they run through all His handiwork inclusive of man's life. In themselves they are not antitheses, and they are but crudely conceived when opposed. A theistic predestination excludes their opposition and leaves the vindication of necessitarianism to 'the wisdom of this world' as in materialism and idealism—in men of science like Huxley, Spencer, etc., in men of speculative idealism like Hegel and others more pronouncedly pantheist, who assert that they see in all things the working out of an eternal necessity. Philo-

¹ Martineau's phrase.

¹ The first philosopher clearly to recognize the organic process of the divine purpose was St. Augustine.

² Calvin terms the opposed doctrine 'frigid and jejune' (*Inst.* i. 16. 1).

² The foregoing excludes three positions: (a) the notion that God predestinates fixed numbers, (b) the notion that God predestinates to evil, and (c) the notion that God predestinates, 'by permission,' eternal consequences of evil.

sophers of the type of Schelling, Lotze, and others are truer guides. History, they urge, is characterized by a union of freedom and necessity, the product of a freedom somehow pervaded by necessity, composed of the acts of countless conscious subjects which yet form a world of order.¹ How can this be?, they ask. Only through the operation of a principle superior to both in which they are one—God. History is the evolution of that principle. It reveals itself through the free play of individual wills, and could not be were those wills not free so that they are fellow-workers with it. Free will is incapable of rigid objective presentation; it is best exhibited by a process corresponding to the development of freedom itself. What is freedom? It is only in terms of experience that it can have any meaning at all. So with necessity. They are two constantly alternating poles of our experience. The only solution is a repeated appeal to the subject. The freedom which we at once oppose to and collate with necessity is subordinate to the higher freedom of consciousness on which the distinction rests. Thus modern psychology. In the metaphysical reference the difficulties arising from finite freedom may be met by the contention that, while the total possibilities, however far back we go, are fixed, yet within these, however far forward we go, contingencies arise,² and the best is reached only by living through the less good.

(b) *Fatalism* has been associated with predestination. Calvinism is alleged to be specially chargeable with the error in Christian times. Unquestionably paganism furnishes abundant traces. The popular misunderstanding of foreordination is fate. Predestination, however, is not fate. Fate is a conception for which there is no foothold in the Christian system. Belief in one's fate or star or fortune is apt to characterize both great men and small, and to prompt both to trust in their strongest qualities, which may not be their best. In so far as a man is possessed by a blind feeling of being an instrument of destiny used by an irresistible force he knows not to what end, his belief is a weakness. It bears no likeness to the Christian idea, which has two features: it makes a man rationally conscious that he has a mission to accomplish, and it impels him when he learns the divine will to be humbly submissive to its dictates. 'I will do God's will and what I choose,' said General Gordon. The Calvinistic 'fate' is incentive to heroic effort, a challenge to play the man. God's predestinations are moral inspirations.³ What God ordains man realizes. Yet withal there is more. Calvinism in its severer aspect embodies something additional. It is often neglected in Christian thought; it was seldom absent from the

¹ F. W. J. von Schelling, 'Philosophische Untersuchungen über die menschliche Freiheit,' in *Philosophische Schriften*, Landshut, 1809; R. H. Lotze, *Microcosmos*, Eng. tr., 2 vols., Edinburgh, 1885.

² This is Martineau's solution, accepting it from Dugald Stewart; cf. *A Study of Religion*, bk. iii., 'Determinism and Freewill.' It is the position gradually but cogently won through the succession from Kant to Lotze. Science, as distinct from metaphysics, has also in recent years begun to vindicate 'freedom' as rational; with the activistic and vitalistic philosophies of Eucken and Bergson it has entered on a new era. In a recently published letter of more than ordinary interest Bergson writes: 'From all this [the contentions of his three works, *Essay on the immediate Facts of Consciousness*, *Matter and Memory*, and *Creative Evolution*] there clearly emerges the idea of God, Creator and Free; the generator at once of matter and of life, whose creative efforts as regards life are continued through the evolution of species and the constitution of human personalities.'

³ Cf. J. Orr, *The Progress of Dogma*, London, 1901, lect. 1. Calvin and Knox in their treatises strenuously deny that predestination is fate. Sir W. Scott credits Montrose with the ditty:

'He either fears his fate too much,
Or his deserts are small,
That dares not put it to the touch,
To gain or lose it all.'

pre-Christian conscience. In India and Greece, among the old Teutons, in many Christian sects and not a few of the noblest Christian minds it found impressive expression, viz. man's profound sense of the radical obscurity and deep underlying tragedy of human existence—the *Weltschmerz* of modern pessimism. It centres in that suffering in which the subject is victim. It is the tragic mystery of the world, something piteous and fearful; not emergent merely from external forces nor from human acts, not the moral order nor yet a mere fate cruel and indifferent; but something inscrutable and inevitable outside all these which bears on man's life and assails it. It is a demonic force, ready to spring, when circumstances or character or both give occasion, upon its victims to wreak upon them a dire doom, in the drawing down of which motives are nothing, circumstances nothing; the motives may have been aflame with goodness, the circumstances such that any other course was impossible, yet with sharp and swift consequence the stroke descends out of the place where dwell the Nornir (Teutonic), the Hathor (Egyptian), the Erinyes (Greek), the 'divine jealousy' (Hebrew), and all such as 'work woe to mortal man.' It is this almost universal dark instinct more than the Pauline election that is responsible for the horror of much Christian eschatology and Calvinistic gloom; it inheres in the natural man. Early Greek dramas, Shakespeare's tragedies, Maeterlinck's essays, cover a stretch of many centuries and represent widely divergent civilizations, yet in this they are one. It is an insistent sense in all thought which has these two grievous wants: the lack of personality in the Deity and the lack of reality in the world. It is the great merit of Christian thought to remedy both defects and to lift in some measure the awful burden from human hearts. It does so by teaching the unity of the physical and moral spheres, the organic character of all existence in God. It agrees that these spheres do not exhaust the content of reality nor enable us to grasp the depths of being, and so cannot be erected into the working powers of the world or made the complete expression of the divine will. But what is beyond them is not dark, cruel, vengeful, jealous of men, eager to slay, but an order far deeper and richer than that which we know in time and space, where God's will alone abides unchanged and unchangeable, working itself out not only in spite of but even by means of all opposed to it; and it is a will of good to man.

(c) Opposition there is. It is vital; so real and serious as, not indeed finally to thwart, yet grievously to hinder, the fulfilment of the divine purpose, and at the same time completely disintegrate its own spirit-power. God cannot fail; individual men may. The forces adverse to Him are autonomous, and the autonomy is real; hence all may not 'work to will and to do of His good pleasure.' His workmanship is not merely mechanical, infallibly realizing His conceptions. He has His conception and also its completion before Him, as every purpose must; but the first has to reach the second not forcibly but freely through the material in which it seeks to be expressed. That material may never move against Him in the mass, but it may in the individual; for the individual is not wholly moved by the mass and may use the energy that is his own at variance with the force of the whole. When this is so, what then? Are there refuges, reservoirs of latent self, for the rebels? The energy of life-force which they misuse, is it transformable? Perhaps; by lapsing into the universal life, there to be re-formed.¹ At any rate, it may utterly fail in its present form.

¹ Cf. the Biblical figure of God as 'the potter.'

Individual tragedy is too frequent here to render it improbable or impossible hereafter,¹ unless, within the reaches of the divine resourcefulness and the possibilities of the organic life of the race, there be means of conversion and renewal at which we cannot even guess. Men must 'give all diligence to make their calling and election sure.'

IV. HISTORY.—I. Ethnic.—Predestinarian conceptions arise at a certain stage of religious reflexion of necessity; and kindred conceptions are to be found in all religions which have been influenced in their development by speculative thought. Even polytheism adumbrates them in divine personifications of Destiny.

(a) *Greek*.—The best instance of this we find in the Greek poets and tragedians, with whom the belief passed through a variety of forms: *φθνος*, *ἀτη*, *μοῖρα*, *νέμεσις*, *Ερινύες*. These are less intellectual solutions of the problem than deifications of experience; and they are remarkably comprehensive. At first, as in Herodotus, Pindar, and Theognis, envy and caprice characterize the Olympic gods in their dealings with men. Men are the restless rivals of the gods, and must be taught their proper place. Occasionally a righteous purpose governs the divine dealings; occasionally also defects of character in men bring on their misfortunes. But such features do not manifest themselves in force till we come to the great themes of Æschylus and Sophocles, whose tone is vastly superior. The caprice of the gods is by them modified in an ethical direction. Personal calamity is a judicial act pronounced by a moral governor on men's follies and crimes. 'Divine Justice displaces the divine Jealousy.'² The mental and moral clouding gives way to the notion of events baffling human foresight and so leading to unconscious crimes. Even the dark power of Moira is part of the moral order, designed to incite man to resistance, in making which he may fall, but in his fall he is greater than if he had never met the challenge. Within increasingly broad limits, too, man's freedom is recognized. In Sophocles there is the mature idea that suffering is not always final, but is foreseen in the counsels of the gods as part of the permitted evil which is a condition of a just and harmoniously ordered universe. It is not inconsistent with this that epic poetry gives more prominence to circumstances and external forces in the determining of character; for such is the nature of epic as distinct from drama. Thus there is little justification for the common theory³ that in the Greek drama everything is foreknown and develops inevitably from the beginning. Tragic fate needs a tragic trait in the victim. Cf. art. FATE (Greek and Roman).

(b) *Roman*.—Nothing like the same subtle sensitiveness is found in the Roman early theology. The citizens of Latium and the surrounding parts were a more secular and political race; and destiny with them amounts to little more than a belief in their own genius and the enterprise that renders it effective. The deity Fortuna embodies this faith. Destiny is seldom regarded as personal doom; it is rather racial mission. Nor does it often occur to the Roman thinker to inquire into the origin of

the special genius of his people. The metaphysical and ethical implications of the belief were not canvassed. Cf. art. FATE (Greek and Roman).

(c) *Teutonic*.—Remarkable is the contrast in the Teutonic idea of destiny. It forms a prime element in an elaborate mythology whose foci are Odin and Urd, divinity and fate. It is difficult to delimit the respective jurisdictions of these two; but the lion's share of power falls to Urd (Vyrð). She is the goddess of fate, and also of death—a significant conjunction. She is the dispenser of life and death, with her maids the Norns (arbiters of life) and the Valkyries (arbiters of death), who dwell with her under the world-tree (Ygdrasil), which stands forever green, watered by her gold-cased fountain. The might of Odin standing behind is no relief; he wields a lawless power, with a loveless will. He stands for blind, arbitrary, elemental will—will cut off from wisdom, a brute, blundering, pitiless, eccentric will (with the single bright feature that it chooses the warriors for Valhalla), which surrounds human passion and affection with a tragic cloud against which the heroic figure is shown off. A deep pessimism pervades the Eddas. It is as if the cruel and dismal climate of the North, the huge terror of storm and sea, the high courage of reckless hearts crushed by the irresponsibility of apathetic deity, were all gathered up in a vast and bitter gloom—that general spirit which for modern understanding has been so powerfully portrayed in the romantic operas of Richard Wagner.¹ Cf. art. DOOM, DOOM-MYTHS (Teutonic).

(d) *Indian*.—On a higher plane, turning to ancient India, we find a definite theistic development in the later stages of the *Upanishads*, in the *Kāthaka* and the *Svetāśvatara*, where there occurs the clear idea that 'only by the man whom he chooses is God comprehended—to him the *ātman* reveals his essence.' In the Buddhistic teaching prominence is accorded to the law of *karma* (q.v.), according to which the soul in its successive transmigrations has each stage irrevocably determined by its conduct in the previous stage—a suggestion of ethical necessitation which even in its fullest expression remains vague. Apart from express teaching, Hindu life and ideas are predominantly fatalistic, unfree, unenergetic. The drama is full of *deus ex machina*; the actors seldom rely on their own will. The religion, largely a ritual, shows the divine wrath ready to burst out on the most trivial occasions and for the most trifling offences.² Cf. art. FATE (Hindu).

(e) *Chinese*.—In ancient China there is the great law of *Tao*, circumscribing the course of human life in a cosmos of omnipresent order. It overrules the entire animation of the universe in both its aspects of light and darkness, life and death, good and evil. It never deviates or diverges. It metes out justly and equitably to all men, by means of the spirits or gods rewarding the good, by means of the spectres punishing the bad, with perfect impartiality. Blessing comes to those who conform to its laws, hurt to those who violate them. The fear of the spectres is very great; there is an all-pervading demonism, counteractives to which make up a large proportion of Chinese religious practice.³ The evil spectres may interfere at any moment with human business and fate, favourably or unfavourably. These spectres are the instruments of retributive justice. *Tao* is

¹ Cf. on this paragraph V. Rydberg, *Teutonic Mythology*, Eng. tr., London, 1889, §§ 61-64.

² P. Deussen, *The Philosophy of the Upanishads*, Eng. tr., Edinburgh, 1906, pp. 172-179. Consult on the subject generally N. McNicol, *The Religious Quest of India*; *Indian Theism*, Oxford, 1915; Mrs. Sinclair Stevenson, *The Heart of Jainism*, do, 1915.

³ J. J. M. de Groot, *The Religion of the Chinese*, 4 vols., Leyden, 1892, bk. i. p. 935 f., bk. ii. ch. ii.

¹ Granted this, it follows that the total effect of individual tragic failure hereafter on the whole world-plan may be dealt with as in the case of individual failure in this life's progress. The Creator's method, righting what goes amiss, here may indicate His method in the hereafter. What is that method? Briefly nature's desire is to rid itself of defects; if defects persist, the cause is not in them, but in the progressive organism of life in which they are survivals. But the primal and final plan of God can have no inherent defects.

² S. H. Butcher, *Some Aspects of the Greek Genius*, London, 1904, p. 109.

³ Schiller's so-called reproductions of Greek dramas illustrate this popular but erroneous idea.

both the creation and the creator, the motive force of the universe and the free determiner of its agency, spontaneously working from all eternity. His favour, won by obedience to his motions, may be secured by faithful observance of them in the actual movement of the world and life. Having no superior or co-equal, he secures it that human destiny is neither dark nor cruel; it is clear and orderly as himself. Cf. art. FATE (Chinese).

(f) *Egyptian*.—In ancient Egypt the moral conditions of character and destiny are similarly conspicuous. Egyptologists are divided as to the characteristics of primitive Egyptian religion, whether they are those of a polytheism or those of a monotheism. But even that school which asserts its polytheistic character agrees that underneath the multiplicity of deities there is always the feeling of their unity; and, whenever that unity is at all recognized, it carries with it the further concept of the spirituality of the divinity in things¹—a spirituality that is righteousness. The goddess Hathor, the patroness of joy and happiness, is also the cosmic principle, the personification of the great universal power of nature perpetually creating and maintaining all things, great and small; she is further in the judgment a foremost figure on the bench. In 'The Precepts of Khensu-hetep' (F. J. Chabas, in *L'Egyptologie*, Paris, 1876-78, ch. vi.) the explicit references to *sekhher neter* show a clear and definite idea of divine providence,² by whose goodness men subsist. To the supreme being who is thus regarded is attributed at the same time the creation of the world and all things; and, as he is righteous, his plan is righteous. We owe it to this religion that it emphasizes the fact that the guilty suffer, the penalty being exacted at the time of the wrong-doing, not deferred to a later day or generation.³ Cf. art. FATE (Egyptian).

2. *Jewish and Muhammadan*.—The OT and NT ideas are given in *extenso* in the art. ELECTION. There all in creation, history, redemption, is referred back to the divine sovereignty. The special features of that relationship as experienced in vital religious activity alone are set forth; the general idea never gets beyond its most general expression. The same speculative reserve characterizes later Jewish thought. Its particular interest is not high; except in the case of individual rabbis, nothing further is ventured than the statement of a comprehensive dependence of all things and all persons on the divine supremacy, and an insistence, always in subordination to God's sovereignty, on man's free will. Intellectual problems are evaded as beyond human solving. Of the Jewish sects in the time of Christ Josephus is responsible for making the Pharisees material predestinationists, the Essenes absolute predestinationists, and the Sadducees hostile to all forms of predestination, since they traced all events to chance. Material predestination limits the divine decree to this material life; an example from *Hul.* vii. 6 is to the effect that a man does not hurt his finger in this world unless it has been decreed. It is a peculiarly Judaic idea, and belongs to the main stream of Rabbinic conviction. Other currents represented in Rabbinism are the two familiar to Christian controversy—the one emphasizing man's freedom, the other divine overrule. According to the one, the decision rests with man, whose conduct determines his destiny; the spirit's prime endowment is freedom. According to the other, God directs and foreknows all. A representative utterance is that of R. Akiba (*Abhōth*,

iii. 15): 'All is foreseen yet freedom is granted'—a position whose last eminent apologist was the renowned Maimonides.⁴

Muhammadanism teaches an absolute predestination, to both good and evil, happiness and misery. God is conceived of as absolute will, operating by rigid law, moulding the material by whose instrumentality it works, after the manner of Oriental despotism. Muhammadan philosophers expound it in a more extreme way than it is set forth in the Qur'an until the doctrine has become practically pernicious. The reaction set in by the Mu'tazilites, who assailed the orthodox view with keenness, made room for free will, but was eventually overcome by orthodoxy.⁵ Cf. art. FATE (Muslim).

3. *Christian*.—Predestination holds a large place in the history of the Christian Church. It has fanned burning controversies, and generated popular fear; it has fostered stern ideals, and moulded strong natures. In its largest sense the finest intellects of the Church have been attracted to it, and those periods that have been most fruitful in reconciling the development of Christian ideas with the growth of culture have been indebted to it above all for inspiration. The epochs of its progress are marked by these periods.

(a) *First stage*.—The first stage is signaled by the conflict of the Greek Fathers with Gnosticism, the conquest of the Greek mind by Christian theology. The problems of Gnosticism are in the main two: (1) the nature of the Absolute, and the method whereby He can be the creator of matter, and (2) the origin of evil. The Gnostic solution is found in an endless succession of æons or emanations of the Absolute which serve to span the gulf between Him and creation. Gnosticism, in establishing its theory, had to deny free will. It is a solution metaphysical and necessitarian. The Greek Apologists and Fathers, addressing themselves to the problem, reached a solution ethical and personal. They know nothing of unconditional predestination; they teach free will. Believing in the sovereign efficacy of reason and conscience, they interpret the Absolute in terms of them. Their contribution combines four points, viz. (a) the Absolute requires mediation; (β) the mediator is the Logos; (γ) through the Logos the Absolute is creator; (δ) freedom is the mark of man.

All schools at that period held an abstract notion of God. The central quest was after an appropriate medium of communion between the Supreme Being and the world. The Gnostic attempt failed before the magnificent doctrine of the Logos (*g.v.*)—the issue of the controversy and its end. The doctrine of the Supreme as Creator through the Logos, and the activity of the Logos in nature, history, and man, are the primary ideas of Patristic theology, set forth partially in the Apologists, with fullness and learning in Clement and Origen, and preached by Chrysostom. It is essentially a new Gnosis, summing up the divine design of cosmic history.

(b) *Second stage*.—The second stage opens with the Latin Father, St. Augustine († 430), and the fall of imperial Rome. That event gives the *motif* to his profoundest thought that history is the history of two antagonistic cities, so that he can compare the ordered series of the centuries to an antistrophic hymn pervaded by an antithetic parallelism which turns on the call of God and the response of man (*de Civ. Dei*, xi. 18). Into his particular opinions on religious predestination we need not enter (see AUGUSTINE, ELECTION). His

¹ Cf. C. P. Tiele, *Hist. of the Egyptian Religion*, Eng. tr., London, 1882, pp. 216-230.

² Cf. E. A. W. Budge, *Gods of the Egyptians; or Studies in Egyptian Mythology*, 2 vols., London, 1904, i. 125.

³ Cf. on this E. Naville, *La Religion des anciens Egyptiens*, Paris, 1906, pp. 150-175.

⁴ F. Weber, *System der altynagogen palästinschen Theologie*, Leipzig, 1880.

⁵ E. Sell, *Faith of Islam*, London, 1896; D. B. Macdonald, *Development of Muslim Theology*, London, 1903.

positions are not always superficially consistent. But his great merits are clear. He distinguishes prescience from predestination, and aids to a better analysis of the latter. He expounds a richer idea of will than the inherited views of the Greeks and the Pelagians; and initiates a discussion from the main position of which Christian thought has never since withdrawn, viz. that the unregenerate will is not free; freedom is growth in the power to do right.¹ Great as these services were to the progress of truth, they are not his chief contribution to the predestination idea. That concerns itself with the nature of the divine purpose the *motif* of which is referred to above. He unfolds his ideas in his main book, *de Civitate Dei*, called forth by the decay of the Roman State. The underlying principle of that masterly exposition is the organic character of the divine purpose. It is pervaded by his deep sense of the continuous evolution of the divine purpose in all things. It sums up his conviction of a life's study. Throughout his life he was intent on reducing to a consistent unity the varied elements of nature, history, and revelation, as they presented themselves in believing consciousness. So successfully has he vindicated that principle that subsequent developments have proceeded upon it, always the more clearly to demonstrate its essential truthfulness. The controversies that ensued, directed against St. Augustine, assail details—in particular the doctrine of 'predestination to evil' or the reprobation of the impenitent wicked. Rabanus Maurus († 840), Hincmar († 882), and others argued the inconsequence of that doctrine by Scripture proof, John Scotus Erigena² († c. 877) its inconsequence metaphysically—both legitimate corrections. The Augustinian doctrine in its general drift worked on with increasing cogency throughout mediæval Christendom, quickening an extraordinary ferment of ideas, creative of new impulses in every direction, religious and disciplinary, political and social. Into the stream of religious and general culture there entered currents widely dissimilar, deriving from the study of Aristotle and of Dionysius the Areopagite, really alien to the Latin genius. The pregnancy of St. Augustine's philosophy succeeded in acclimatizing rich elements in both in the atmosphere of Western theology.

(c) *Third stage.*—Of this the constructive intellect was that of St. Thomas Aquinas (c. 1227–74), who quells the maelstrom of mediæval thought. In him we see St. Augustine pruned of his many verbal and logical inconsistencies and his view of the world and history so presented with a logical thoroughness and developed on different sides as to exhibit a proper system, or *summa*. Of specific value is Aquinas's discussion of prevenience or premotion, and the grace of natural virtues—features of Augustinianism that have obtained a secure lodgment in Romanist theology, but not in Reformed. The whole effort of Aquinas results in a fusion of the best culture and most spiritual faith of his age. The Augustinian spirit pervading it is in his work definitely incorporated with the official teaching of the Roman Church. St. Thomas inspired the Decrees of Trent (1545–63), which, while affirming several Scotist positions, define a mild Augustinianism.³ The Augustinian principles are three: (a) God is absolute master by

His grace of all determinations of the will; (β) man remains free under the action of grace; (γ) the reconciliation of these two truths rests on the manner of the divine government. The Tridentine formulæ reaffirm original sin and man's need of grace as against Pelagianism (sess. vi. can. 2), the freedom of man and the ability of doing good and evil even before embracing faith (vi. 6. 7) as against the Protestants. Trent further, with St. Thomas, teaches the universal offer of salvation and divine provision of the means of grace. The problem of harmonizing grace and freedom is left undefined; the brief of Benedict XIV. (1748) gives liberty to all schemes of reconciliation—the strict Augustinian, the Thomist, and the Molinist.¹

(d) *Fourth stage.*—The fourth stage came with the Reformation and the awakened moral conscience. The absorbing interest of the 16th cent. was religious, not speculative. No commanding intellect of the comprehensive order of an Origen, Augustine, or Aquinas arose to offer the new synthesis of faith and culture which the times imperatively demanded, and little progress was made in the growth of the predestination idea. Luther and Erasmus, Zwingli and Calvin, with minor divergences, agree in reverting to St. Augustine on the main issues and in the supposed interests of evangelical piety; but none of them had adequate philosophical equipment to formulate anew the problem in consistent and convincing form. Hence Western Christendom remained divided. Its continuance in disruption was due as much to the absence of a first-rank philosopher as to the presence of a fiery Reformer; for fresh religious feeling is less divisive than stale religious dogma, and the speculative reason of the Reformers made but indifferent flights. The proper contribution of that age lies elsewhere, in the fresh emphasis set on the doctrine of election as the believer's ground of certainty of salvation as against the Church and its machinery of grace. Polemical motives against Roman ideas of authority impelled the Reformers to give election a paramount place in their system, with the result that its philosophical counterpart, predestination, assumes, not only in general theory, where it is relevant, but also in theological construction, where it is not, the position of basal principle controlling the entire system. The *Institutes* of John Calvin († 1564) is representative. It asserts the double predestination, to life and death quite irrespective of merit. The central idea² is that of an independent and immutable decree of God, in which foreordination and foreknowledge are inseparable. Beza, Calvin's successor at Geneva, is the father of 'high,' or supralapsarian, Calvinism. The common view of the Reformed Confessions, confirmed alike by the Synod of Dort (1618–19) and the Westminster Assembly (1647), is infralapsarian. The infralapsarian (*infra lapsum*) theory of predestination, or the decree of predestination viewed as subsequent in purpose to the decree permitting man to fall, represents man created and fallen as the object of election. The supralapsarian theory designates the view which supposes that the ultimate end which God proposed to Himself was His own glory in the salvation of some men and the damnation of others, and that as a means to that end He decreed to create man and to permit him to fall. Strict Calvinism subsequently found mitigations in the 'Federal Theology,' expounded by Cocceius (1603–69), professor at Leyden, who introduced the idea that God's judicial charging

¹ Augustine's denial of freedom is really denial of capricious choice—the assertion of self-determination along the lines of one's true character.

² Erigena's contention, 'no predestination to evil' because that would imply a duality in the divine nature, or else the existence of some power above God determining His will, is acute (cf. his tractate *de Predestinatione*). It undermined for the future the recurring idea of God as the author of evil.

³ Loofs's statement, 'the history of Catholicism is the history of the progressive elimination of Augustinianism,' we regard as a gross exaggeration.

¹ Cf. a valuable account by E. Portalié, in *CE*, s.v. 'Augustine.'

² Ritschl, Sneekenburg, etc., have denied the centrality; Schweizer proves it fully. M. Scheide (*Calvins Prädestinationslehre*, Halle, 1897) describes the religious motives underlying Calvin's construction.

of the guilt of Adam's apostasy to his descendants was racial, and not personal; and in the contemporary Saumur school of Cameron, Amyraut, and others in France, who attempted a combination of particular election and universal salvation (sublapsarianism). Bold opposition was offered by the Remonstrants led by Arminius, professor in Leyden from 1602 to 1609. A year after his death his disciples, as an organized party, presented a Remonstrance to the States of Holland pleading for toleration, and, for the sake of defining their position, presented soon afterwards five Articles expressing their views. This is the origin of the famous 'Five Points' in the controversy between Calvinism and Arminianism. Of Calvinism the 'Five Points' are unconditional predestination, particular election, efficacious grace, divine reprobation of the wicked, and final perseverance of the elect. Of Arminianism the opposed points were conditional predestination on foreseen merit, universal salvation, resistible grace with the provision of means sufficient for salvation, preterition of the wicked, and possible lapse of the justified from grace. Later, Methodism came with a synergistic solution which is logically indefensible, but has proved serviceable for piety. The Calvinistic victory was one of logic only; even the victors felt that, if not handled with special prudence and care, the doctrine would be the reverse of helpful to morals and piety. The Calvinistic Synods restate old positions—Dort with relentless rigour, Westminster a little more cautiously. They contribute nothing new to the theology of the subject. The work of the Protestant scholastics was one of systematization for civil and religious reform rather than of inspiration to spiritual or apologetic progress. It had unquestionable merits. It demonstrated the political potency of the predestination idea in common life, when men are found to believe implicitly in the absolute will of God and to range themselves submissively under its behests in simple obedience. It established as never before the religious principle as the controlling principle of civilization, taught the civil power definite ethical function, laid thereby the only workable basis of free democracy, and thus, when the unity of the world's life and knowledge had been shattered by the break-up of the mediæval Church, pointed to fresh sources of cohesion which prove the more efficient the more they are tested in the complexities of modern growth. Whatever criticism may be urged against Calvinism as a religion and a theology, it is certain that as a polity it has been a triumphant success, as the maker not indeed of kings—the claim of the mediæval Church—but of what is much greater, States.

The most commanding Calvinistic intellect appeared where there was obvious relief from the political pressure, in New England. Jonathan Edwards (1703-58) draws into the system somewhat of the wider expanses of the New World that gave him birth. He sets forth the Calvinistic view of the world with a masculine strength and rich insight of rare excellence, and in face of the most imposing critical antagonism which Calvinism has ever encountered—New England Unitarianism. He prepared the way for the final outfit of the predestination idea for its modern task; and he did so by having greater confidence in reason than his contemporaries. Edwards was no reactionary. In the widely prevailing scorn of human reason he dived deeper into its depths and achieved two superlative results—the reconciliation of the divine decrees and free will, and the exposition of the divine motive for predestination as resting in the divine glory. Regarding the former he argued that the law of causality is

universal; that, while every man is free to act in accordance with his will, his power to will is controlled by causes outside of himself, so that ultimately the will must obey the behests of a power independent of its own purposes. Regarding the latter he argued that God's freedom is exercised in 'self-exhibition' and 'self-communication'—a self-communication which is creative in man of 'the religious affections' (the form that union of man with God takes) which display the reality of predestinating grace. His work is a distinct advance towards overcoming the dualism in the Calvinistic position, leading directly to the idea of God as moral personality, the controlling principle of modern theology. In the Catholic theology God is construed as substance; and in Scotist, Socinian, and Arminian theology as will. The Reformers conceived God as the embodiment of the moral law, bound by His own nature to punish sin and to uphold the eternal principles of righteousness. The conception, however, was not clear; and side by side with it we find the old conception of sovereignty as arbitrary will. Calvinism reconciles the two by distinguishing between the nature and will of God: nature is the sphere of necessity, will of freedom; justice belongs to the one, mercy to the other. Edwards makes 'the love of being' his controlling principle—lying behind both justice and mercy, containing them within itself. It is but a step from the divine self-love to the divine Fatherhood—the idea which fresh experience of the redemptive love of God in Christ (the discovery of the modern Church) revealed.

(e) *Fifth stage.*—Under the influence of the renewed study of the life of Christ modern theology has brought into fresh prominence the ethical and spiritual qualities which were central in Jesus' thought of God. For the abstract Absolute of the earlier theology and the arbitrary will of the later it substitutes the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, and seeks to show that in His wise, holy, and loving character we have the ultimate reality of religious truth. In this attempt it receives aid from two quarters. Through a better understanding of the nature of the will modern psychology makes it possible to overcome the supposed opposition between freedom and law, while philosophy, through its renewed emphasis upon the immanence of God, opens a way for the conception of God which shall include the concrete features essential to Christian faith. So far as the first is concerned, we are coming to see that it is not will, but character, that is fundamental for our idea of personality. That man is most truly free whose will is most completely dominated by a consistent moral purpose and whose acts—given a knowledge of that purpose—we can most certainly predict. Character denotes to us such consistency of moral purpose; and law, so far from being a limitation of freedom, is its most effective means of expression. In Christ, then, we can fill up 'the mere good pleasure' of historic Calvinism with the inner constraint of redemptive love. Not less significant is the help from modern philosophy. We are seeing that the ultimate reality, instead of being the most abstract, must be the most concrete of all conceptions. We do not explain the world by thinking away all that is most characteristic in experience into a colourless residuum, but rather by studying experience to discover, amid the infinite variety which it contains, the elements of permanence. Life is to be interpreted by its highest forms, not its lowest, and the qualities which Christian faith finds central in God become those most needed for an explanation of the actual facts of life. The main outline of the historical growth of the pre-

destination idea is thus evident. In ethnic religion, lower, we have the instinct of fatality predominant; in ethnic religion, higher, we have the dawn and gradual growth of the instinct of freedom. In Hebraism there is a definite conviction of the general idea of predestination, combining the two features of divine sovereignty and human liberty. Judaism, on the whole, conserves the same general idea. Muhammadanism reverts to fatality. Christianity, primitive and Patristic, preserves and defends predestination as received from Hebraism along ethical lines. The mediæval Church deepens the idea, and develops its definition by setting in strong relief the absolute supremacy of grace over nature in St. Augustine and the congruity of grace with nature in St. Thomas. The Reformation Church deepens the idea, and develops its definition by setting in strong relief the absolute spirituality of grace as resting in God's mercy (in the Reforming leaders) and its finality as resting in God's glory (in Jonathan Edwards). The modern Church, relying on modern philosophy, which has gathered up the results of the modern sciences, of nature, history, and man in a broad synthesis centring in the Supreme Being as moral personality, accepts the vindication of the harmony of divine sovereignty and human liberty, thus closing the most prolific source of conflict concerning this subject. The two foci of the predestination doctrine are both true, and every theory exalting one at the expense of the other has had to give place to the more adequate formula. The stubborn protest of orthodox common sense, which has never in any age lapsed, has been justified. The facts of the religious consciousness have availed to beget the theory, not the theory the facts.

V. *THE MODERN TASK*.—The supreme desideratum of modern religion is strong individuality, with its enterprise, romance, ever-fresh experience, and transforming impulses. It may be secured by that enlarged conception of the divine will regulating man's destiny to which every vital pulse of the modern spirit points. It will include a larger theism, a freer society, a richer soul.

1. *A larger theism*.—The antitheisms of the age are not wholly in error. They are popular because of the meagreness of the current theism. They are attempts to do justice to factors to which the prevailing theism does scant justice or even violence. They are not negative; their negations proceed from a positive faith; and in their positive contribution to thought they correct one another and enable us to discern the lineaments of an impressive philosophy. Superficially regarded, they all seem to lead to determinism, apparently absorbing the individual in the whole. Pantheism, materialism, socialism, secularism, naturalism—they look like the deification of the finite world. But only in the popular or semi-popular intelligence. Take, *e.g.*, pantheism. It is a term to which the vaguest and most contradictory meanings are attached, the clearest being that which identifies the world with God and regards man as part of the world. Yet that is a notion destitute of historical foundation and, indeed, of any rational meaning. How can pantheism say that the finite world is the infinite? We may say that it represents the infinite, but not that it is the infinite; and that is the precise opposite of the deification of the finite. It implies not the divinity, but the nothingness, of the world of sense and sight. The formula which expresses it is not 'All things are God,' but 'God is all in all'; or, in the comprehensive phrase of Indian philosophy, 'There is but one Being, no second'; or the Christian conception, 'There is one God, beside Him no other.' Do not materialism and naturalism, when their real signifi-

cance is seen, imply the same truth? They are eager to exalt the cosmic life-force as the dominating world-force. But how do they interpret it? Not abstractly, but from detailed observation of the actual phenomena of the world; hence its general conception is not untrustworthy; it is the concrete content of the abstraction of pantheism. And what is the contention of socialism ultimately but this, that no individual stands alone, that his perfection can never accrue in isolation, that, as the attraction of physical particle for particle causes every material body to retain its form and relations, so the self that will separate from the influence of other selves is on the sure path to disintegration? Together these antitheisms in their essential pleas urge that God is the only reality in the universe, that the life-force of creation is one, that man's safety and perfection rest in right relation with them. God's immanence in the world is the modern understanding of the eternal reality of its process and progress. Such conceptions are as profound as they are novel. They arise directly out of the minutest investigation into the facts with which science and history deal. They appeal to the theological mind to be drawn up into the idea of God and His relation to the world and man to enrich our apprehension of His transcendence and divine purpose. They teach us definitely concerning that purpose in the world that we know, and of Himself standing above it working out its ends. On the foundation of that knowledge we are summoned to build up convictions of the character and will of Him who thus acts and of the destiny of all His actions.¹

2. *A freer society*.—Social theory is as multi-form as antitheism. Anarchism, communism, socialism, nationalism, imperialism, are imperfectly understood apart from the ideal and emotional impulses prompting them. They are preparing the physical basis, the material conditions of large advances in human liberty. They are adversely criticized for doing the very opposite. But surely in their broad spirit they are operating to restrain those who need restraint within the attainments of human progress already won, in order that human welfare may enter on higher achievements. Social pressure, law, is not the foe of liberty; it is its nursing mother. Life depends on environment. A 'fullness of time and place' must be before fresh growth can come. Conditions must be organized if new life is to be generated. It is from lower forms that the higher arise as the appropriate *métier* of their life is secured. The social and industrial unrest of the times implies the bringing to birth of a fresh life of humanity. The new quality of life cannot live except with new social advantage. Here we note two facts of modern psychology: (a) social integration promotes individual independence, and (b) personality is enhanced by progress in material conditions. The individual is conditioned by his environment; that is the basis of all sound sociology. As a machine cannot work in an atmosphere that freezes its oils, or a plant flower in beauty in the Arctic zone, so man cannot grow to his full stature in a world of squalor, sin, and disease. This is the modern rendering of the ancient 'fate,' yet with what a difference for human hope! A large share of man's destiny is sealed by his birth and surroundings. On the one hand, while a certain power of choice remains his, his moral endeavour and moral vision are due quite as much to the community which produces him as to himself. On the other hand, it is a fact as well that this is for man's benefit; it is the grace of the universe to his growth. A man is, first of all, a unity; and his nature as such prevents his easy descent into

¹ Cf. R. Flint, *Agnosticism*, Edinburgh, 1903, last chapter.

the mass or dissolution into weakness. The more that unity of his is preserved and pressed, the stronger rises the outflow of original force of character, the result of social amelioration. Is this the mode of operation of the divine will upon the human? 'Our wills are ours to make them Thine'—have we here the method of discipline? Here once more is a summons to revise that harassing perplexity of foreknowledge and free will; here too a mightier incentive than before conceived for material progress and Christian enterprise.

3. A richer soul.—The practical experience of that old doctrine, the mystical union with Christ, has almost died down. It is well worth revival. The time is opportune. The stream of mysticism runs with a strong current in the modern conscience. It will enter theology as a power for good. Modern mystics are training us in their way of experience, and teaching the sacramentalism of nature; they are renewing our confidence in the validity of both in grace. Redemption is an economy like nature and providence; its spirit can be known and felt equally with theirs. The ordinances of Christ's appointment which sum up His saving acts to represent, seal, and apply their benefits, are its proper medium of communication, conferring 'God's essence and His very self' on believers. There is a spirit in creation; there is a spirit in history; there is a spirit in grace. These three are *not* one, but the experience of the first prepares for the last, in which their partial union with the divine life is consummated in perfect union. That union feeds the spirit of man, for the simple reason that the spiritual nature of man is not some special faculty or out-of-the-body ecstasy, but the conversion and sustenance of his ordinary powers. It is because we confine our union with the divine Being to communion with Him by our ordinary powers that our religious life is so pulseless. But the fault rests, not in the powers, but in the method of using them. We commit two blunders. We use our powers in analysis, not in synthesis; and the result is that the self is not offered to the divine life for its unfolding. The self is more than the collection of its faculties; and we have to realize that there is no end to the spiritual treasure latent in it when God has access to it. Then, again, we think God rather than experience God. But a thought God is abstraction; a lived-with God is power—action and passion. We have to learn that in the infinite personality there is no end to such action and passion. These recognitions, of our own deeper self and of the divine self, open the way for inflows from God constantly increasing unto perfection. Within our self God speaks and to our self; there is no identity, for identity would close intercourse. In this—the fine principle of the higher mysticism of our day—lies the sure hope of further spiritual advance.

But now every increase of living experience of this sort brings with it an increase of power to understand what God's will is, what it is doing, and by what method He is doing it. Those ideas, the divine immanence in the world, the social solidarity of the race, the enhancement of self-conscious life, have as yet no place in theological system.¹ The divine transcendence idea and predestination idea have been drawn deductively from data that are abstract; we must now build them

up by induction from what we have seen are the data alone intelligible to the modern mind. They will then assume their proper position as the controlling principles in a scientific theology fitted to enlist the finest sympathies of modern culture and to effect its greatly desired harmony with modern faith.

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PRE-EXISTENCE. — 1. Definition. — Pre-existence, from being a general term, has come to have a limited, technical application in the philosophy of religion. It is used in stating the doctrine that the human soul has already been in being before the beginning of the earthly life, *i.e.* prior to the time of its union with the body. The precise character and conditions assigned to the pre-existent state cannot be brought out in a general definition, as these vary in different systems of religion. Where this belief appears it is generally

¹ Fragmentary essays in that direction have been forthcoming during the latter half of the 19th century. Modern theology has moved away from the old moorings; partial reconstruction is proceeding apace; the comprehensive synthesis still lags. Yet the most fruitful interpretation still of the divine nature is that of will, motivated by love, showing that in its general decline the heart of Calvinism, like that of Shelley in the ashes of his funeral pyre, remains entire.